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CATO's LETTERS.

VOL. I.

Est lex Justorum Injustorumque distinctio, ad illam antiquissimam, & rerum omnium principem, expressa, Naturam; ad quam leges hominum diriguntur, quæ supplicio improbos afficiunt, & tuentur bonos.

Cicero de Legibus.

LONDON:

Printed for W. WILKINS, T. WOODWARD, J. WALTHOE, and J. PEELE.

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THE

PREFACE.

THE following Letters, firſt printed Weekly in the *London* and *Britiſh Journals*, and then moſt of them gather'd into Collections from Time to Time, are now brought all together into Four Volumes: So that this is their third Publication, and the laſt in which I ſhall concern my ſelf. I have corrected many Errors of the Preſs, and of Stile: Some I find ſtill remaining, beſides ſome Inaccuracies as to the Names of Men, and of Books.

They were begun with an honeſt and humane Intention, to call for Publick Juſtice upon the wicked Managers of the late fatal *South-Sea* Scheme, and probably help'd to procure it, as far as it was procur'd; by raiſing in a Nation, almoſt ſunk in Deſpair, a Spirit not to be withſtood by the Arts and Wealth of the powerful Criminals. They were afterwards carried on upon various publick and important Subjects, for nigh three Years, with a very high Reputation, which all the Methods taken to decry and miſrepreſent them, could not abate. They were firſt written, without any Name, from *Bath*, as Letters to the Author of the *London Journal*, who of his own Head ſign'd them *CATO*, and by that Name they afterwards went.

The pleaſing or diſpleaſing of any Party was none of the Ends of theſe Letters, which, as a Proof of their Impartiality, have pleas'd and diſpleas'd all Parties; nor are any Writers proper to do Juſtice to every Party, but ſuch as are attach'd to none. No candid Man can defend any Party in all Particulars; becauſe every Party does, in ſome Particulars, do Things which cannot be defended; and therefore

that Man who goes blindly into all the Steps of his Party, and vindicates all their Proceedings, cannot vindicate himſelf. It is the baſe Office of a Slave, and he who ſuſtains it, breathes improperly *Engliſh* Air: That of the *Tuilleries* or the *Divan* would ſuit him better.

The ſtrongeſt Treatiſe upon the Liberty of the Preſs could not ſo well ſhew its great Importance to civil Liberty, as the univerſal good Reception of theſe Papers has done. The Freedom with which they are written, has been encourag'd and applauded even by thoſe, who in other Inſtances are Enemies to all Freedom. But all Men love Liberty for themſelves; and whoever contends for Slavery, would ſtill preſerve himſelf from the Effects of it. Pride and Intereſt ſway him, and he is only hard-hearted to all the reſt of the World.

The Patrons of Paſſive Obedience would do well to conſider this, or allow others to conſider it for them. Theſe Gentlemen have never fail'd upon every Occaſion, to ſhew effectually that their Patience was nothing increas'd by their Principles, and that they always, very candidly and humanely, excluded themſelves from the

Consequences of their own Doctrines. Whatever their Speculations have been, their Practices have strongly preach'd, that no Man will suffer Injustice and Violence, when he can help himself.

Let us therefore, without regarding the ridiculous, narrow, and dishoneſt Notions of selfish and inconsistent Men, who say and do contradictory Things, make general Liberty the Intereſt and Choice, as it is certainly the Right of all Mankind, and brand those as Enemies to humane Society, who are Enemies to equal and impartial Liberty. Whenever such Men are Friends to Truth, they are so from Anger or Chance, and not for her own Sake, or for the Sake of Society. I am glad, however, that by reading and approving many of *Cato*'s Letters, they have been brought to read and approve a general Condemnation of their own Scheme. It is more than ever they did before; and I am not without Hopes, that what they have begun in Paſſion, may end in Conviction. *Cato* is happy if he has been the Means of bringing those Men to think for themselves, whoſe Character it has been to let other Men think for them — A Character which is the higheſt Shame, and the greateſt Unhappineſs of a rational Being.

Being. These Papers having fully open'd the Principles of Liberty and Power, and render'd them plain to every Understanding, may perhaps have their Share in preventing, for the Time to come, such Storms of Zeal for Nonsense and Falshood, as have thrown the three Kingdoms more than once into Convulsions. I hope they have largely help'd to cure and remove those monstrous Notions of Government, which have been long instill'd by the crafty Few into the ignorant Many.

It was no Matter of Wonder that these Letters should be ill understood, and maliciously applied, by some, who, having no Principles of their own, or vile ones, were apt to wrest *Cato*'s Papers and Principles to favour their own Prejudices and base Wishes. But for such as always have profess'd to entertain the same Sentiments of Government with *Cato*, and yet have been offended with his Sentiments; as this their Offence was neither his Fault nor Intention, I can only be sorry for their Sakes, that the Principles which they avowed at all Times should displease them at any Time. I am willing to believe that it was not the Doctrine, but the Application, that disobliged them: Nor was *Cato* answerable for this; they themselves

made it, and often made it wrong. All candid and well-bred Men (if *Cato* may be reckon'd in the Number) abhor all Attacks upon the Perſons and private Characters of Men, and all little Stories invented or revived to blacken them. Theſe are cowardly and barbarous Practices; the Work and Ambition of little and malicious Minds: Nor wanted he any ſuch low and contemptible Artifices to gain Readers. He attended only to general Reaſonings about publick Virtue and Corruption, unbiaſs'd by Pique or Favour to any Man. In this upright and impartial Purſuit, he abus'd no Man's Perſon; he courted no Man's Fortune; he dreaded no Man's Reſentment

It was a heavy Charge upon *Cato*, which however wanted not Vouchers, (if they were in earneſt) that he has ſpoken diſreſpectfully, nay inſolently, of the King. But this Charge has been only aſſerted. If it were in the leaſt true, I ſhould be the firſt to own that all the Clamour rais'd againſt him was juſt upon him. But the Papers vindicate themſelves; nor was any Prince ever treated with more ſincere Duty and Regard in any publick or private Writings, than his preſent Majeſty has been in theſe. In Point of Principle and Affec-

Affection, his Majesty never had a better Subject than *Cato*; and if he has any bad ones, they are not of *Cato*'s making. I know that this Nation cannot be preserv'd, if this Establishment is destroy'd; and I am still perswaded, that nothing tended more to his Majesty's Advantage and Popularity, or more to the Credit of his Administration, or more to the Security of the Subject, than the pursuing with quick and impartial Vengeance those Men, who were Enemies to all Men, and to his Majesty the most dangerous of all his Enemies, a Blot and a Curse to the Nation, and the Authors of such Discontents in some, and of such Designs in others, as the worst Men wanted, and the best Men fear'd.

In answer to those deep Politicians, who have been puzzl'd to know who were meant by *Cicero* and *Brutus*: Intending to deal candidly with them, and to put them out of Pain and Doubt, I assure them that *Cicero* and *Brutus* were meant; that I know no present Characters or Story that will fit theirs; that these Letters were translated for the Service of Liberty in general; and that neither Reproof nor Praise was intended by them to any Man living. And if these guessing Sages are in Per-

plexity about any other Paſſages in *Cato's* Letters, it is ten to one but the ſame Anſwer will relieve them. There was nothing in thoſe Letters analagous to our Affairs; but as they are extremely fine, full of Virtue and good Senſe, and the Love of Mankind, it was thought worth while to put them into *Engliſh*, as a proper Entertainment for *Engliſh* Readers. This was the utmoſt and only View; and it was at leaſt an unkind Miſtake to ſuppoſe any other.

In one of *Brutus's* Letters, it is ſaid, *We do not diſpute about the Qualifications of a Maſter; we will have no Maſter.* This is far from being ſtronger than the Original —*Niſi forte non de Servitute, ſed de conditione Serviendi recuſandum eſt a nobis.* From hence ſome have inferr'd, that becauſe *Brutus* was againſt having a Maſter, therefore *Cato* was againſt having a King: A ſtrange Conſtruction, and a wild Conſequence! As if the Tranſlator of *Brutus's* Letter was not to follow the Senſe of *Brutus*: Or, as if there was no Difference in *England* between a King and a Maſter, which are juſt as oppoſite as King and Tyrant. In a Neighbouring Country, indeed, they ſay that their Monarch is born Maſter of the Kingdom; and I believe they

they feel it; as they do with a Witneſs in *Turkey*. But it is not ſo here: I hope it never will be. We have a King made and limited by the Law: *Brutus* having kill'd one Uſurper, was oppoſing another, overturning by Violence all Law. Where is the Parity, or Room for it?

The ſame Defence is to be made for the Papers that aſſert the Lawfulneſs of killing *Cæſar*. It has been a Queſtion long debated in the World; tho' I think it admits of little room for Debate; the only Arguments to be anſwer'd being Prejudice and Clamour, which are fully anſwer'd and expos'd in theſe Papers. What is ſaid in them can be only applicable to thoſe who do as *Cæſar* and *Brutus* did; and can no otherwiſe affect our free and legal Government, than by furniſhing real Arguments to defend it. The ſame Principles of Nature and Reaſon that ſupported Liberty at *Rome*, muſt ſupport it here and every where, however the Circumſtances of adjuſting them may vary in different Places; as the Foundations of Tyranny are in all Countries, and at all Times, eſſentially the ſame, namely, too much Force in the Hands of one Man, or of a few, unaccountable Magiſtrates, and Power without a Ballance: A ſorrowful Circumſtance

cumstance for any People to fall into. I hope it is no Crime to write against so great an Evil. The Case of the Question is, Whether Mankind have a Right to be Happy, and to oppose their own Destruction? And whether any Man has a Right to make them Miserable?

Machiavel puts *Cæsar* upon the same Foot with the worst and most detested Tyrants, such as *Nabis*, *Phalaris*, and *Dionysius*. "Nor let any Man, says he, deceive "himself with *Cæsar*'s Reputation, by "finding him so exceedingly eminent in "History. Those who cried him up, "were either corrupted by his Fortune, "or terrified by his Power; for whilst "his Empire continued, it was never per-"mitted to any Man to say any thing "against him. Doubtless if Writers had "had their Liberty, they could have said "as much of him as of *Catiline*: And "*Cæsar* is much the worst of the two, "by how much it is worse to perpetrate "a wicked Thing than to design it. And "this may be judg'd by what is said of "*Brutus* his Adversary; for, not daring "to speak in plain Terms of *Cæsar*, by "reason of his Power, they, by a kind "of Reverse, magnified his Enemy." He afterwards gives a Summary of the dole-

ful

ful Waſte and crying Miſeries brought upon *Rome* and upon Mankind by the imperial Wolves his Succeſſors; and adds, that by ſuch a Recapitulation " It will appear " what mighty Obligations *Rome* and " *Italy*, and the whole World had to *Cæ*- " *ſar*."

I ſhall ſay no more of theſe Papers either in general or particular. I leave the ſeveral Arguments maintain'd in them to juſtify themſelves, and cannot help thinking that they are ſupported by the united Force of Experience, Reaſon, and Nature. It is the Intereſt of Mankind they aſſert, and it is the Intereſt of Mankind that they ſhould be true. The Opinion of the World concerning them, may be known from hence, that they have had more Friends and Readers at Home and Abroad than any Paper that ever appear'd in it; nor does it leſſen their Praiſe, that they have alſo had more Enemies.

Who were the Authors of thoſe Letters, is now, I believe pretty well known. It is with the utmoſt Sorrow I ſay, that one of them is lately dead, and his Death is a Loſs to Mankind. To me it is by far the greateſt and moſt ſhocking that ever I knew; as he was the beſt Friend that ever

I had;

I had; I may say the first Friend. I found great Credit and Advantages in his Friendship, and shall value my self upon it as long as I live. From the Moment he knew me, 'till the Moment he died, every part of his Behaviour to me was a Proof of his Affection for me. From a perfect Stranger to him, and without any other Recommendation than a casual Coffee-house Acquaintance, and his own good Opinion, he took me into his Favour and Care, and into as high a Degree of Intimacy as ever was shewn by one Man to another. This was the more remarkable, and did me the greater Honour, for that he was naturally as shy in making Friendships, as he was eminently constant to those he had already made. His Shyness this way was founded upon wise and vertuous Considerations. He knew that in a Number of Friendships, some would prove superficial, some deceitful, and some would be neglected; and he never profess'd a Friendship without a sincere Intention to be a Friend; which he was satisfied a private Man could not be to many at once, in Cases of Exigency and Trial. Besides, he had found much Baseness from false Friends, who for his best Offices, made him vile Returns. He consider'd mutual Friends as under mutual Obligations, and he

he would contract no Obligation which he was not in earneſt to diſcharge.

This was agreeable to the great Sincerity of his Soul, which would ſuffer him to miſlead no Man into Hopes and Expectations without Grounds. He would let no Body depend upon him in vain. The contrary Conduct he thought had great Cruelty in it, as it was founding Confidence upon Deceit, and abuſing the good Faith of thoſe who truſted in us: Hence Hypocriſy on one Side, as ſoon as it was diſcover'd, begot Hatred on the other, and falſe Friendſhip ended in ſincere Enmity: A Violence was done to a tender Point of Morality, and the Reputation of him who did it, loſt and expos'd amongſt thoſe who thought he had the moſt.

He was ſo tender and exact in his Dealings with all Sorts of Men, that he us'd to lay his Meaning and Purpoſes minutely before them, and ſcorn'd to gain any Advantage from their miſtaking his Intentions. He told them what he would and would not do on his Part, and what he expected on theirs, with the utmoſt Accuracy and Openneſs. They at leaſt knew the worſt; and the only Latitude he reſerv'd to himſelf was to be better than his

Word;

Word; but he would let no Man hope for what he did not mean. He thought he never could be too plain with those he had to do with; and as Men are apt to construe Things most in their own Favour, he us'd to foresee and obviate those their partial Constructions, and fix every Thing upon full and express Terms. He abhorr'd the misleading of Men by artful and equivocal Words; and because People are ready to put Meanings upon a Man's Countenance and Demeanour, his Sincerity extended even to his Carriage and Manner; and though he was very civil to every Body, he order'd it so that the Forms of his Civility appear'd to mean no more than Forms, and could not be mistaken for Marks of Affection, where he had none: And it is very true that a Man's Behaviour may, without one Word said, make Professions and Promises, and he may play the Knave by a kind Look.

He us'd to say, and from knowing him long and intimately, I could believe him when he said, that he never broke a Promise nor an Appointment in his Life, in any Instance where it was practicable to keep them. If he was to make a Visit at an Hour, or to meet a Friend at an Hour, he was always there before the Hour. He

observ'd

obſerv'd the ſame ſevere Punctuality in every other Engagement of his, and had a very ill Opinion of ſuch as did not make every Promiſe of every kind a Matter of Morality and Honour: He conſider'd a Man's Behaviour in ſmaller Matters, as a Specimen of what he would do in Matters that were greater; and that a Principle of Faithfulneſs, or the want of it, would ſhew it ſelf in little as well as in conſiderable Things; that he who would try your Patience in the Buſineſs of an Appointment, would fail you in a Buſineſs of Property; that one who promis'd at Random, and miſled you without an Intention to miſlead you, was a trifling Man, and wanted Honeſty though he had no Treachery; as he who did it with Deſign was a Knave; that from what Cauſe ſoever they deceiv'd you, the Deceit was the ſame, and both were equally to be diſtruſted; that Punctuality or Remiſsneſs, Sincerity or Perfidiouſneſs, runs, generally, through the Whole of a Man's Life and Actions, and you need only obſerve his Behaviour in one or two, to know his Behaviour in all; and a negligent Man, when he is neglected, has no Reaſon to complain, no more than a falſe Man when he is hated. In many Inſtances, Negligence has all the Effects of Falſehood;

and

and is as far from Virtue, tho' not so near to Vice.

As Mr. *Trenchard* was wary and reserv'd in the Choice of his Friends, so no small Faults, no sudden Prejudices nor Gusts of Humour or Passion, could shake their Interest in him, or induce him to part with them; nor could any Calumnies, however artful, nor the most malicious Tales and Infusions, however speciously dress'd up, lessen his Regard for them. In those Cases, as in all others, he would see with his own Eyes, and have full Proof before he believ'd or condemn'd. He knew how easily Prejudices and Stories are taken up; he knew how apt Malice and Emulation are to creep into the Heart of Man, and to canker it; how quickly Reports are framed, how suddenly improv'd, how easily an additional Word or Circumstance can transform Good into Evil, and Evil into Good; and how common it is to add Words and Circumstances, as well as to create Facts: He was aware that too many Men are govern'd by ill Nature; that the best are liable to Prepossessions and Misinformation; and that if we listen to every spiteful Tale and Insinuation that Men are prone to utter concerning one another, no two Men in the World could

be

be two Days Friends. He therefore always judg'd for himself, unbiass'd by Passion or any Man's Authority; and when he did change, it was Demonstration that chang'd him. He carried this Tenderness even to his lowest Servants; nor could his Steward, who had serv'd him many Years, and given him long Proof of great Integrity and good Understanding, ever determine him to turn away a Servant, 'till he had satisfied himself that he ought to be turn'd away. He was not assur'd but his Steward might be prejudic'd, notwithstanding his Probity: And the Steward has told me, that he never went with any Complaint to his Master, how necessary soever for him to hear, but he went with some Uneasiness and Diffidence.

No Man ever made greater Allowances for humane Infirmities, and for the Errors and Follies of Men. This was a Character which he did not bear; but it is religiously true. He knew what feeble Materials humane Nature was made of; perhaps no Man that ever was born knew it better. Mankind lay as it were dissected before him, and he saw all their Beauties and Deformities, all their Weaknesses, Passions, Defects and Excesses, with prodigious Clearness, and could describe them

them with prodigious Force. Man in Society, Man out of Society, was perfectly known and familiar to his great and lively Understanding, and stood naked to his Eye, divested of all the Advantages, Supplements and Disguises of Art. His Lectures upon this Subject, as upon all others, were admirable, beautiful, and full of Life.

As to his Indulgence to humane Infirmities; he knew that without it every Man would be an unsociable Creature to another, since every Man living has Infirmities; that we must take Men as they are, or not at all; that it is but mutual Equity to allow others what we want and expect to our selves; that as good and ill Qualities are often blended together, so they often arise out of one another: Thus Men of great Wit and Spirit, are often Men of strong Passion and Vehemence; and the first make amends for the last: Thus great Humourists are generally very honest Men, and weak Men have sometimes great good Nature. Upon this Foundation no Man lived more easy and debonair with his Acquaintance, or bore their Failings better. Good Nature and Sincerity was all that he expected of them. But in the Number of natural Infirmities, he

he never reckon'd Falſhood and Knavery, to which he gave no Quarter. Humane Weakneſſes were invincible; but no Man was born a Knave: He chuſes his own Character, and no ſincere Man can love him.

In his Tranſactions with Men, he had a ſurprizing Talent at bringing them over to his Opinion. His firſt Care was that it was ſure and well-grounded and important, and then he was a prevailing Advocate; he enter'd into it with all his Might, and his Might was irreſiſtible. He ſaw it in its whole Extent, with all the Reaſons and all the Difficulties, and could throw both into a thouſand various Lights; and nothing could eſcape him. This a Friend of his us'd to call bringing Heaven and Earth into his Argument. He had indeed vaſt Variety of Images, a Deluge of Language, mighty Perſwaſion in his Looks, and great Natural Authority. You ſaw he was in earneſt; you ſaw his excellent Judgment, and you ſaw his upright Soul.

He had the ſame Facility in expoſing and taking to Pieces plauſible and deceitful Reaſonings. This he did with vaſt Quickneſs and Brevity, and with happy

Turns

Turns of Ridicule. Many a grave Argument deliver'd very plauſibly and at large, in good and well-ſounding Language, has he demoliſh'd with a ſenſible Jeſt of three Words, or a pleaſant Story not much longer. He had a Promptneſs at Repartee, which few Men ever equall'd, and none ever excell'd. He ſaw with great Suddenneſs the Strength and Weakneſs of Things, their Juſtneſs or Ridicule, and had equal Excellence in ſhewing either.

The Quickneſs of his Spirit made him ſometimes ſay Things which were ill taken, and for which upon Recollection he himſelf was always ſorry. But in the Midſt of his greateſt Heat, I never heard him utter a Word that was ſhocking or dangerous: So great was his Judgment and the Guard he kept over himſelf, and the natural Impetuoſity of his Temper. He was naturally a warm Man; but his Wiſdom and Obſervation gave him great Warineſs and Circumſpection in great Affairs; and never was Man more for moderate and calm Counſels, or more an Enemy to raſh ones. He had ſo little of Revenge in his Temper, that his Perſonal Reſentment never carried him to hurt any Man, or to wiſh him hurt, unleſs from other Cauſes he deſerv'd it.

He

He had an immenſe Fund of natural Eloquence, a graceful and perſwaſive Manner, a world of Action, and a Stile ſtrong, clear, figurative, and full of Fire. He attended to the Senſe much more than to the Expreſſion, and yet his Expreſſion was noble. Coming late into the Houſe of Commons, and being but one Seſſions there, he could not exert his great Talent that Way with Freedom; but the few Speeches he made were full of excellent ſtrong Senſe, and he was always heard with much Attention and Reſpect. Whether he would have ever come to have ſpoke there with perfect Eaſe and Boldneſs, Time, from which he is now taken away, could only ſhew. It is certain, in that ſhort Space he acquir'd very high Eſteem with all Sorts of Men, and remov'd many Prejudices conceiv'd againſt him before he ſhewed himſelf in publick. He had been thought a Moroſe and Impracticable Man —— An Imputation which nothing but Ill-will, or Ignorance of his true Character, could lay upon him. He was one of the gayeſt, pleaſanteſt Men that ever liv'd; an enchanting Companion, full of Mirth and Raillery; familiar and communicative to the laſt Degree; eaſy, kind-hearted, and ut-

terly

terly free from all Grimace and Statelineſs: He was acceſſible to all Men: No Man came more frankly into Conviction; no Man was more candid in owning his Miſtakes, and no Man more ready to do kind obliging Offices. He had not one ambitious Thought, nor a crooked one, nor an envious one. He had but one View; to be in the right, and to do good; and he would have heartily join'd with any Man, or any Party of Men, to have attain'd it. If he err'd, he err'd innocently; for he ſincerely walk'd according to the beſt Light he had. Is this the Character, this the Behaviour of a moroſe, of an impracticable Man? And yet this was the Character of Mr. *Trenchard*, as many great and worthy Men, who once believ'd the contrary, liv'd to ſee.

He was cordially in the Intereſt of Mankind, and of this Nation, and this Government, and never found Fault with publick Meaſures, but when he really thought they were againſt the Publick. According to the Views he had of Things, he judg'd excellently; and often trac'd Attempts and Events to their firſt true Sources, however diſguiſed or denied, by the meer Force of his own ſtrong Underſtanding. He had an amazing Sagacity and

and Compaſs of Thinking, and it was ſcarce poſſible to impoſe Appearances upon him for Principles: And they who having the ſame good Affections with him, yet ſometimes differ'd in Opinion from him, did it often from the Difference of their Underſtandings. They ſaw not ſo far into the Cauſes and Conſequences of Things: Few Men upon Earth did; very few. His active and inquiſitive Mind, full of Velocity and Penetration, had not the ſame Limits with thoſe of other Men; it was all Lightning, and diſſipated in an Inſtant the Doubts and Darkneſs which bewilder'd the Heads of others. In a Moment, he unravell'd the obſcureſt Queſtions; in a Moment, he ſaw the Tendency of Things. I could give many undeniable Inſtances where every Jot of the Events he foretold came to paſs, and in the Manner he foretold. Without doubt, he was ſometimes miſtaken; but his Miſtakes did him no Diſcredit; they aroſe from no Defect in his Judgment, and from no Sourneſs of Mind.

As he wanted nothing but to ſee the Publick proſper, he emulated no Man's Greatneſs, but rejoic'd in the Publick Welfare, whatever Hands conducted it.

No Man ever dreaded publick Evils more, or took them more to Heart: At one Time they had almoſt broke it. The National Confuſions, Diſtreſſes, and Deſpair, which we labour'd under a few Years ago, gave him much Anxiety, and Sorrow, which prey'd upon him, and endanger'd his Life ſo much, that had he ſtaid in Town a few Days longer, it was more than probable he would never have gone out of it alive. He even dreaded a Revolution; and the more, becauſe he ſaw ſome eaſy and ſecure, who ought to have dreaded it moſt. This was no Riddle to him then, and he fancy'd he liv'd to ſee the Riddle explain'd to others.

The perſonal Reſentment he bore to a Great Man now dead, for perſonal Injuries, had no Share in the Oppoſition he gave to his Adminiſtration; how natural ſoever it was to believe that it had. He only conſider'd the Publick in that Oppoſition, which he would have gladly dropp'd, and chang'd Oppoſition into Aſſiſtance, without any Advantage or Regard to himſelf, if he could have been ſatisfy'd that that Great Man lov'd his Country as well as he lov'd Power. Nor did he ever quarrel with any Great Man about ſmall Conſi-

Conſiderations. On the contrary, he made great Allowances for their Errors, for the Care of their Fortunes and Families, and even for their Ambition; provided their Ambition was honeſtly directed, and the Publick was not degraded or neglected, to ſatiate their domeſtick Pride. He did not vainly expect from Men that Perfection and Heroiſm which, he knew, were not to be found in Men; and he car'd not how much good Miniſters did to themſelves, if by it they hurt not their Country. He had two Things much at Heart, the keeping *England* out of foreign Broils, and paying off the publick Debts. He thought the one depended upon the other, and the Fate and Being of the Nation depended upon the laſt; and I believe few Men who think at all, think him miſtaken. For a good while before he died, he was eaſier as to thoſe Matters, than I had ever known him. He was pleas'd with the Calm we were in, and entertained favourable Hopes and Opinions. Nor is it any Diſcredit to the preſent Adminiſtration, that Mr. *Trenchard* was more partial to it, than I ever knew him to any other. In this he ſincerely follow'd his Judgment; for it is moſt certain he had not one View to himſelf; nor

could any humane Conſideration have withdrawn him from the publick Intereſt. It was hard to miſlead him; and impoſſible to corrupt him.

No Man was ever more remote from all Thoughts of publick Employments; he was even determin'd againſt them; and yet he would never abſolutely declare that he would at no Time engage in them; becauſe it was barely poſſible he might. So nice and ſevere was his Veracity! He had infinite Talents for Buſineſs; a Head wonderfully turn'd for Schemes, Trains of Reaſoning, and Variety of Affairs; extreme Promptneſs, indefatigable Induſtry, a ſtrong Memory, mighty Diſpatch, and great Adroitneſs in applying to the Paſſions of Men. This laſt Talent was not generally known to be his; he was thought a poſitive uncomplying Man; and in Matters of Right and Wrong he was ſo. But it is as true, that he knew perfectly how Mankind were to be dealt with, and could manage their Tempers with great Art, and bear with all their Humours and Weakneſſes, with great Patience. He could reaſon or rally, be grave or pleaſant, with equal Succeſs; and make himſelf extremely agreeable to all ſorts

ſorts of People, without the leaſt Departure from his Candour and Integrity. As he lov'd chiefly Privacy and a domeſtick Life, he ſeldom throw'd himſelf in the Way of Popularity; but wherever he ſought it, he had it. One Proof of this may be learn'd from the great Town where he was choſen into Parliament; no Man was ever more belov'd and admir'd by any Place. He found them full of Prejudices againſt him, and left them full of Affection for him. Very different Kinds of Men, widely different in Principle, agreed in loving him equally; and adore his Memory, now he is gone. The few ſour Men who oppoſed him there, owed him better Things, and did themſelves no Credit by their Oppoſition.

In Converſation, he was frank, chearful, and familiar, without Reſerve; and entertaining, beyond Belief. His Head was ſo clear, ready, and ſo full of Knowledge, that I have often heard him make as ſtrong, fine, and uſeful Diſcourſes at his Table, as ever he wrote in his Cloſet; tho' I think he is in the higheſt Claſs of Writers that ever appear'd in the World: He had ſuch ſurprizing Images, ſuch a happy Way of conceiving Things, and of

putting Words together, as few Men upon Earth ever had. He talk'd without the Pedantry of a Man who loves to hear himſelf talk, or is fond of Applauſe. He was always excellent Company; but the Time of the Day when he ſhin'd moſt, was for three Hours or more after Dinner: Towards the Evening, he was generally ſubject to Indigeſtions. The Time he choſe to think in, was the Morning.

He was acceptable Company to Women. He treated them with great Niceneſs and Reſpect; he abounded in their own Chit-Chat, and ſaid a world of pleaſant Things. He was a tender and obliging Husband; and indeed had uncommon Cauſe to be ſo, as he well knew, and has ſhewn by his Will: But he had worthy and generous Notions of the kind Regard Men owe to Women in general, eſpecially to their Wives, who when they are bad, may often thank their Husbands. This was a Theme he often enlarg'd upon with great Wiſdom. He was very partial to the Fair Sex, and had a great deal of Gallantry in his Temper.

He was a friendly Neighbour; he ſtudied to live well with every Body about him, and took a ſenſible Pleaſure in doing

doing good Offices: He was an Enemy to Litigiouſneſs and Strife; and I think he told me he never had a Law-Suit in his Life. He was a kind and generous Landlord; he never hurried nor diſtreſſed any of his Tenants for Rent, and made them frequent and unask'd Abatements. There were yearly Inſtances of this. He was exact in performing all his Covenants with them, and never forgot any Promiſe that he had made them. Nor did he ever deny any Tenant any reaſonable Favour: But as he knew his Eſtate well, they could not eaſily deceive him: And none but ſuch as did ſo, or attempted it, were known to complain.

To his Servants he was a juſt and merciful Maſter. Under him they had good Uſage and Plenty; and the worſt they had to apprehend in his Service, was now and then a paſſionate Expreſſion. He lov'd to ſee chearful Faces about him. He was particularly tender of them in their Sickneſs, and often paid large Bills for their Cure. For this his Compaſſion and Bounty, he had almoſt always ill Returns. They thought that every Kindneſs done them, was done for their own Sake; that they were of ſuch Importance to him,

that he could not live without them, and that therefore they were entitled to more Wages. He us'd to obſerve, that this Ingratitude was inſeparable from inferior Servants, and that they always founded ſome freſh Claim, upon every Kindneſs he did them. From hence he was wont to make many fine Obſervations upon humane Nature, and particularly upon the Nature of the common Herd of Mankind.

Mr. *Trenchard* had a liberal Education, and was bred to the Law; in which, as I have heard ſome of his Cotemporaries ſay, he had made amazing Progreſs. But Politicks and the *Iriſh* Truſt, in which he made a great Figure, tho' very young, took him from the Bar, whither he never had any Inclination to return. By the Death of an Uncle, and his Marriage, he was fallen into an eaſy Fortune, with the Proſpect of a much greater.

He was very knowing, but not learned; that is, he had not read many Books. Few Books pleas'd him: Where the Matter was not ſtrong, and fine, and laid cloſe together, it could not engage his Attention: He outrun his Author, and had

had much more himſelf to ſay upon the Subject. He ſaid, that moſt Books were but Title-Pages, and in the firſt Leaf you ſaw all; that of many Books which were valued, half might be thrown away without loſing any thing. He knew well the general Hiſtory and State of the World, and its Geography every where: For a Gentleman, he was a good Mathematician; he had clear and extenſive Ideas of the Aſtronomical Syſtem, of the Power of Matter and Motion, and of the Cauſes and Production of Things. He underſtood perfectly the Intereſt of *England* in all its Branches, and the Intereſt and Pretenſions of the ſeveral great Powers in *Europe*, with the State and general Ballance of Trade every where. Upon theſe Subjects, and upon all others that are of Uſe to Mankind, he could diſcourſe with marvellous Force and Pertineney. Perhaps no Man living had thought ſo much, and ſo variouſly. He had a buſy and a juſt Head, and was Maſter of any Subject in an Inſtant. He chiefly ſtudied Matters that were of Importance to the World; but lov'd Poetry and Things of Amuſement, when the Thoughts were juſt and witty: and no Body enjoy'd Pleaſantries more. He had formerly read the Claſ-

ſicks, and always retain'd many of their beautiful Paſſages, particularly from *Horace* and *Lucretius*, and from ſome of the Speeches in *Lucan*. He admir'd the Fire and Freedom of the laſt; as he did *Lucretius* for the Loftineſs of his Conceptions: And *Horace* he had almoſt all by Heart. He had the Works of *Cicero* and *Tacitus* in high Eſteem: He was not a little pleas'd when I ſet about tranſlating the latter. He thought no Author ſo fit to be read by a free People, like this; as none paints with ſuch Wiſdom and Force the ſhocking Deformities of that ſort of conſuming Government, which has render'd almoſt the whole Earth ſo thin and wretched.

He had a great Contempt for Logick, and the Learning of the Schools; and us'd to repeat with much Mirth an Obſervation of Dr. *Smith*, late Biſhop of *Down*, his Tutor. The Doctor us'd to ſay, "That Mr. *Trenchard*'s Talent of Reaſoning was owing to his having been ſo "good a Logician;" a Character for which he was eminent at the Univerſity. The Truth was, that his Reaſoning Head made him excell in the Subtleties of Logick. Reaſon is a Faculty not to be learn'd,

learn'd, no more than Wit and Penetration. Having as great Natural Parts as perhaps any Man was ever born with, he wanted none of the Shew and Aſſiſtance of Art; and many Men, who carry about them mighty Magazines of Learning and Quotations, would have made a poor Figure in Converſation with Mr. *Trenchard*. He highly valued Learned Men, when they had good Senſe, and made good uſe of their Learning: But meer Authorities, and Terms, and the Lumber of Words, were Sport to him; and he often made good Sport of thoſe who excell'd in them. He had endleſs Reſources in his own ſtrong Underſtanding, and us'd to ſtrip ſuch Men of their Armour of Names and Diſtinctions with wonderful Livelineſs and Pleaſantry. Having loſt all the Tackle of their Art, they had no Aids from Nature. Falſe Learning, falſe Gravity, and falſe Argument, never encounter'd a more ſucceſsful Foe. Extraordinary Learning, and extraordinary Wit, ſeldom meet in one Man. The Velocity of their Genius renders Men of great Wit incapable of that laborious Patience neceſſary to make a Man very learned. *Cicero* and *Monſieur Bayle* had both, and ſo had our *Milton* and *George Buchanan*. I could name others;

others; but all that I could mention are only Exceptions from a general Rule. As to Mr. *Trenchard*, the Character of *Aper* the *Roman* Orator ſuits him ſo much, that it ſeems made for him —*Aprum ingenio potius & vi naturæ quam inſtitutione & litteris famam Eloquentiæ conſecutum —— communi eruditione imbutus, contemnebat potius litteras quam neſciebat —— Ingenium ejus nullis alienarum artium inniti videretur.*

Dialog. de Oratoribus.

He was not fond of Writing; his Fault lay far on the other Side. He only did it when he thought it neceſſary. Even in the Courſe of the following Letters, he was ſometimes ſeveral Months together without writing one; tho', upon the whole, he wrote as many, within five and twenty, as I did. He wrote many ſuch as I could not write, and I many ſuch as he would not. All the Papers upon Trade were writ by him, with thoſe upon Witches and Spirits, and all the Papers ſign'd *DIOGENES*, except the 2d of Enthuſiaſm, which contains the Character of an Enthuſiaſt. I cannot help thinking theſe his Papers of *Diogenes*, extremely fine. They ſhew his great Compaſs of Thinking, and how clearly he diſcour'd upon the

the darkeſt and moſt metaphyſical Subjects. The Letter upon Treaſons, that upon Publick Puniſhments, beginning *Parcere ſubjectis*, and that inimitable Letter upon Naval Power, were his. All the reſt were writ, ſometimes by him, ſometimes by me; and as a Proof of his Ingenuity and Friendſhip, he heard mine approv'd with as much Pleaſure as his own, and always ſpoke of them in as kind Terms. If the Reader wants any Rule to diſtinguiſh his from mine; thoſe which have any Quotations were chiefly mine; and where there are many Quotations, they were certainly mine. He hardly ever conſulted Books, and I not often. Sometimes one Letter was writ partly by him, and partly by me. And to him it was owing, to his Converſation and ſtrong Way of Thinking, and to the Protection and Inſtruction he gave me, that I was capable of writing ſo many. He was the beſt Tutor ever I had, and to him I owed more than to the whole World beſides. I will add with the ſame Truth, that, but for me, he never would have engaged in any Weekly Performance whatſoever. From any third Hand there was no Aſſiſtance. I wanted none while I had him, and he ſought none while he had me.

His

His Notions of God were noble and refin'd; and if he was obnoxious to Bigots, it was for thinking honourably of the Deity, and for exposing their ſtupid, ſour, and narrow Imaginations about him. There was more Inſtruction in three *extempore* Sentences of his upon this Subject, than in threeſcore of their ſtudied Sermons. He taught you to love God; they only to dread him. He thought the Goſpel one continued Leſſon of Mercy and Peace; they make it a laſting Warrant for Contention, Severity, and Rage. He believ'd that thoſe Men, who found Pomp and Domination in the ſelf-denying Example and Precepts of *Jeſus Chriſt*, were either Madmen, or worſe — not in earneſt; that ſuch as were Enemies to Liberty of Conſcience, were Enemies to humane Society, which is a frail Thing kept together by mutual Neceſſities and mutual Indulgences; and that, in order to reduce all the World to one Opinion, the whole World muſt be reduced to one Man, and all the reſt deſtroy'd. He ſaw, with juſt Indignation, the mad, chimerical, ſelfiſh, and barbarous Tenets maintain'd by many of the Clergy, with the miſchievous Effects and Tendency of thoſe Tenets:

Tenets: He ſaw, as every Man that has Eyes may, that for every Advantage they have in the World, they are beholden to Men and Societies; and he thought it downright Fraud and Impudence, to claim as a Gift from God, what all Mankind knew was the manifeſt Bounty of Men, and the Policy of States, or extorted from them; that Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction and Revenues could have no other poſſible Original; that it was a Contradiction to all Truth, to Chriſtianity, and to all Civil Government, to allow them any other; that the certain Effect of detaching the Prieſthood from the Authority of the Civil Magiſtrate, was to enſlave the Civil Magiſtrate, and all Men, to the Prieſthood; that theſe Claims of the Clergy to Divine Right and Independency, rais'd a Combuſtion, a Civil Schiſm in the State, (the only Schiſm dangerous to Society,) made the Laity the Property or the Enemies of the Clergy, and taught the Clergy avowed Ingratitude for every Bounty, Indulgence, Privilege and Advantage, which the Laity, or any Layman, could beſtow upon them; ſince, having all from God, they could conſider Laymen only as Intruders, when Laymen meddled with celeſtial Rents, and pretended to give them what God had given

given them. I am apt to think, that from this Root of ſpiritual Pride, proceeds the too common Ingratitude of Clergymen to their Patrons for very good Livings. They think it Uſurpation in Lay-Men to have Church-Benefices in their Gift. Hence their known Abhorrence of Impropriations; and we all know what they mean, when they find ſo much Precipitancy and ſo many Errors in the Reformation. It was a terrible Blow to Church-Dominion, and gave the Laity ſome of their own Lands again.

Some will ſay, that theſe are only a Number of hot-heated Men amongſt the Clergy; and I ſay, I mean no other: I only wiſh the cool Heads may be a Majority. That there are many ſuch, I know and congratulate; and I honour with all my Heart the many Biſhops and Doctors, who are ſatisfied with the Condition of the Clergy, and are Friends to Conſcience and Civil Liberty; for both which ſome of them have contended with immortal Succeſs.

But whatever Offence the high Claimers of ſpiritual Dominion gave Mr. *Trenchard*, he was ſincerely for preſerving the Eſta-

bliſh'd

bliſh'd Church, and would have heartily oppos'd any Attempt to alter it. He was againſt all Levelling in Church and State, and fearful of trying Experiments upon the Conſtitution. He thought it was already upon a very good Ballance, and no Man was more falſly accus'd of an Intention to pull down. The Eſtabliſhment was his Standard, and he was only for pulling down thoſe who would ſoar above it, and trample upon it. If he offended Churchmen, while he defended the legal Church, the Blame was not his. He knew of no Authority they had, but what the Law gave them; nor can they ſhew any other. The Sanctions of a thouſand Synods, the Names and Volumes of ten thouſand Fathers, weigh not one Grain in this Argument. They are no more Rules to us, than the Oracles of *Delphos*, no more than a College of *Augurs*. Acts of Parliament alone conſtitute and limit our Church-Government, and create our Clergy; and upon this Article, Mr. *Trenchard* only aſſerted, what they themſelves had ſworn. Perſonally he us'd them with great Civility, wherever he met them; and he was for depriving them of no Part of their Dignities and Revenues. As to their ſpeculative Opinions, when he meddled with them, he thought

he

he might take the same Liberty to differ with them, which they took to differ with one another. For this, many of them have treated his Name very barbarously, to their own Discredit. Laymen can sometimes fight, and be Friends again: The Officers and Soldiers of two opposite Camps, if they meet out of the way of Battle, can be well-bred and humane to each other, and well-pleased together, tho' they are to destroy one another next Day: But I know not how it happens, Clerical Heat does not easily cool; it rarely knows Moderation or any Bounds, but pursues Men to their Death; and after Death it pursues them, when they are no longer subject to the Laws or Cognizance of Men. It was not more good Policy than it was Justice in these angry Men, to charge Mr. *Trenchard* with want of Religion; as it is owning that a Man may be a most virtuous Man, and an excellent Member of Society, without it. But as nothing is so irreligious as the want of Charity; so nothing is more indiscreet.

As passionate as he was for Liberty, he was not for a Common-wealth in *England*. He neither believ'd it possible, nor wish'd for it. He thought we were better as we were,

were, than any practicable Change could make us, and ſeem'd to apprehend that a Neighbouring Re-publick was not far from ſome violent Shock. I wiſh he may have been miſtaken; but the Grounds of his Opinion were too plauſible.

I have before own'd that he was paſſionate; but he ſhew'd it only in Inſtances where it was not worth while to watch and reſtrain his Temper. In Things of Moment, or when he had a Mind not to be provok'd, no Man was more ſedate and calm. I have often ſeen him laugh a peeviſh Man out of his Peeviſhneſs, and without being angry make others very angry. If he had a Mind to dive into any Man's Deſigns, in which he was very ſucceſsful, or meant to gain any End upon him, it was impoſſible to ruffle him. He was only haſty, when he was inadvertent. There was a Rapidity and Emotion in his way of Talking, which ſometimes made him thought warm when he was not. *Etſi vehemens nondum iratus*; as, I think *Tully* ſays of himſelf upon the like Occaſion. He was likewiſe apt to give quick Anſwers to impertinent Queſtions, and to mortify Men who he thought talk'd knaviſhly. Hence chiefly he was called a Hot Man. Little Things ſometimes

times provok'd him; but great Provocations ſet him a thinking; and he was capable of bearing great Loſſes, Oppoſition, and Diſappointments, with ſignal Temper and Firmneſs. He was very merry with thoſe who wrote ſcurrilouſly againſt him, and laugh'd heartily at what they thought he reſented moſt. Not many Days before he died, he diverted himſelf with a very abuſeful Book writen by a Clergyman, and pointed perſonally at him; by a Clergyman highly obliged to his Family, and always treated with great Friendſhip by himſelf.

He had a noble Fortune, of which he took ſuch Care as a Wiſe Man ſhould. He underſtood Husbandry and Improvements excellently, and every Place where he came was the better for him. But tho' he was careful to preſerve his Eſtate, he was no ways anxious to increaſe it. He kept a genteel and a plentiful Table, and was pleaſed to ſee it well fill'd; he had a great Number of Servants, and daily employ'd ſeveral Tradeſmen and many Labourers. So that of his whole Yearly Income he ſav'd little at the Years end, not above two or three hundred Pounds. This will appear ſtrange to moſt People, who generally believ'd that he ſav'd great Sums:

Sums: But I know what I ſay, and it is plain from the Perſonal Eſtate he has left.

As to his Family, which I mention laſt, becauſe it is the laſt Thing a Wiſe Man will value himſelf upon; it is one of the ancienteſt in *England*, and well allied: His Anceſtor came over with *William* the *Norman*, and there has been a good Eſtate in the Name ever ſince. He left no Child, and his three Siſters are his Heirs. I know but one Family now remaining of the Name, Mr. *George Trenchard*'s of *Dorſetſhire*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons; and I believe the Eſtate in both Families, is worth near Ten Thouſand Pounds a Year.

He died of an Ulcer in the Kidnies, after an Illneſs of five Weeks and ſome Days. He died like a Wiſe Man, with great Reſignation and Calmneſs of Spirit, and without one Struggle or Convulſion. The Day before he died, he talk'd to me much and often of an Affair which regarded myſelf, and which, were I to mention it, would ſhew the great Concern and Tenderneſs he had for me. He died in the fifty fifth Year of his Age. I ſaw him expire, and theſe Hands help'd to cloſe his Eyes; the ſaddeſt Office that ever they perform'd.

In

In his Perſon he was a ſtrong, well-ſet Man, but of a ſickly Conſtitution, and ſcarce ever in perfect Health. He thought too much, and with too much Solicitude: This without doubt impair'd, and at laſt wore out the Springs of Life: The Vigour and Activity of his Head caus'd him many Bodily Diſorders. Whatever he did he did intenſely, and no Man was ever more turn'd for the *hoc agere.* —— *Verſatile Ingenium ſic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum diceres, quodcunque ageret.* He had a manly Face, and a fair ſanguine Complexion; regular Features, a Look of great good Senſe, and a lively black Eye, ſo full of Fire, that ſeveral People have told me they could not bear to look him in the Face. I have heard the ſame Obſervation made of his Father, who, by all Accounts, was a Gentleman of much Wit and Spirit.

To conclude; He had extraordinary Abilities, extraordinary Virtues, and little Failings, and theſe ariſing from good Qualities: He was paſſionate from the Quickneſs of his Parts; and his Reſentments aroſe from Things which his Heart abhorr'd. I will end his Character, as *Livy* does that of *Cicero.* The Words are ex-

extremely pertinent —— *Vir magnus, acer, memorabiles fuit, & in cujus laudes exſequendas,* Cicerone *laudatore opus fuerit.*

Fragm. Livij.

Thus much, I hope, I may be permitted to have ſaid of this great and upright Man, and my excellent Friend, before the following Work; and much more I could have ſaid. His Character was as little known as his Name was much. Many ſorts of Men and Cauſes combin'd to miſrepreſent him —Some were provok'd by his honeſt Freedom; others emulated his Reputation; ſome traduc'd him through Prejudice, ſome through Folly. But no good Man that knew him thoroughly cou'd be his Enemy; and what Enemies he had, Malice, or Miſinformation, or his own Virtue made.

The World has few ſuch Men as Mr. *Trenchard*; and few Men in it will be miſs'd ſo much. His Parts, his Spirit and his Probity will be remember'd, and perhaps wanted, when the Prejudices rais'd againſt him will be dead and forgot with the Paſſions that rais'd them.

CATO's LETTERS.

SIR,

AS I have heard, with Concern, the Report of our being in Danger of losing *Gibraltar*, lately reviv'd; so I had no small Pleasure to see, in the Generality of the People, a just Sense of the great Importance of that Place to the Trade and Security of *England*.

All Men, in Truth, shew their Opinion of it, by the Fears they express about it; and if we set aside (as unworthy of mention) a few prostitute Hirelings, who go about Coffee-Houses to drop, as far as they dare, stupid and villainous Reasons

for giving it up: I ſay, excepting ſuch a contemptible few, I defy thoſe, who for vile Ends, or to make good vile Bargains, would gladly have it ſurrender'd, to pick out of all the People of *England*, One honeſt, rational, and diſintereſted Man to concur with them in it.

Thank God, in ſpite of the Folly of Parties, and the Arts of Betrayers, we ſee in all Men a ſteady, warm, and unanimous Spirit for the Preſervation of *Gibraltar*; and I hope to ſee ſhortly the Time, when we ſhall, with the ſame Frankneſs and Unity, exerciſe our Reaſon and our Eyeſight in other Matters, in which we are at preſent miſled, either by Infatuation or falſe Intereſt.

There are two Things which ſurprize me in the many Apprehenſions we have had about *Gibraltar*. The firſt is, the great Diffidence manifeſted by ſuch Fears: Men muſt be far gone in Diſtruſt, before they could come to ſuſpect, that their Superiors could ever grow ſo much as indifferent about a Place of ſuch Conſequence to their Country; and to ſuppoſe them capable of giving it up, is to ſuppoſe them capable of giving up *Portſmouth*, nay, *England* it ſelf. Such Suppoſitions muſt therefore be unjuſt, and the Heighth of Ignorance or Spleen. Can it be imagined, that Men of Honour would forfeit their Reputation, Patriots ſacrifice a Bulwark of their Country, or wiſe Men venture their Heads, by ſuch a traiterous, ſhameful and dangerous Step?

But, ſay ſome, perhaps it will be ſuffer'd to be taken by Surprize; and then all the Blame will only reſt upon ſome obſcure Officer, who

may

may eaſily be given up or kept out of the way, while thoſe who contriv'd the Roguery, and felt the Reward of it, will be as loud in their Reſentments, as others who love their Country well enough to grieve for its Diſgrace or its Loſſes.

I know, indeed, all this has been ſaid more than once, and ſome plauſible Circumſtances urged, to ſhew that it was not abſolutely groundleſs. But, alas, what a poor Plot would here be! A Farce of Treachery and Nonſenſe, viſible to the weakeſt of Mankind, and only fit to raiſe Hatred and Contempt towards the wretched Framers of it: This would be to deal with us as with a Nation of Ideots, blind and inſenſible, who can neither ſee Day-light, nor feel Injuries, nor return inſolent Uſage. No, no, we are not as yet to be hoodwink'd by ſuch thin Schemes: We can aſk, if need were, a few plain Queſtions, which would eaſily puzzle ſuch feeble Politicians; but at preſent we have no Occaſion.

All this, however, ſhews how much we are apt to ſuſpect foul Play in this, and many other Caſes of the like Nature; nor ſhall I now maliciouſly enquire, to what prevailing Cauſe ſuch Diſtruſt is to be aſcribed.

Another thing at which I am apt to wonder is, that, conſidering how much our Credit is concerned to clear our ſelves from the Charge of any baſe Purpoſe, of being willing that *Gibraltar* ſhould be given away, we have not yet done it, at leaſt in any publick and ſatisfactory Manner. The miſtaken People will ſay, and have ſaid, that our Silence is a Confeſſion of our Guilt; and that if their Cenſures and Sup-

poſitions had not been juſt, it was in our Power publickly to have confuted and remov'd them; neither of which we have done, but ſuffered Them to remain under painful Fears, and Our ſelves under the Suſpicion of neither regarding their Intereſt, nor their Eaſe, nor our own Credit.

Why did you not, ſay they, tell all the World how much you were wrong'd, and bely'd, in a Declaration, ſaid to be the *Regent's* of *France*, which expreſly aſſerted, that a Bargain was made to give away *Gibraltar*? Why did you not demonſtrate, that you were at leaſt as willing to preſerve your own Towns, as to conquer Countries for other People, who are remarkable for doing you as little Service as they poſſibly can? Why did you ſuffer it to be ſuggeſted, with the leaſt Colour of Probability, that you would rather throw away what was your own, than to procure for Foreign Allies, at your Expence, what was none of theirs? Why do we fight, why conquer, if we muſt thus condeſcend to implore the Vanquiſh'd, graciouſly to grant Peace to us the Conquerors, for which we will humbly pay them with Part of our Dominions? And how came Foreign States, moſt of them Slaves, to be more in your Favour, than old *England*, which is a Nurſery of Freemen?

All theſe are malicious Queſtions, tho' I hope groundleſs; but as they are propoſed by many Thouſands of his Majeſty's Liege Subjects, in a modeſt and ſerious Way, methinks it would be a ſeaſonable Piece of Diſcretion and good Policy, to prove them groundleſs.

For

For God's Sake, let us answer, if we can answer; and if our Innocence is to be shewn, as no doubt it is, let it be shewn: It will not even be enough, that *Gibraltar* is never given up, but we ought to purge our selves from the Imputation of ever having entertain'd so criminal an Intention. If we can do this, it will recover us some Part of the Credit and Confidence we have lost by not doing of it. I therefore hope, and humbly propose, that we may soon see some able and sagacious Pen, instead of making *Odes* for us, make *Apologies* for us; *which Heaven of its Infinite Mercy grant*, &c.

In the mean time, permit me to give here three unanswerable Reasons why *Gibraltar* cannot either be given up, or taken:

First, Because *Secretary Grimaldo* says it.

Secondly, It would make *South-Sea Stock* fall; and

Thirdly and lastly, We have wise and honest Governors.

I am, &c.

SIR,

THE terrible Circumstances of our *French* Neighbours, under the Plague in some Places, expecting it in others, and dreading it in all, is a loud Warning to us, to take all Expedients and possible Precautions against such a formidable Calamity.

We have already had, and still have, a Contagion of another Sort, more universal, and less merciful, than that at *Marseilles*: The latter has destroy'd, we are told, about sixty thousand Lives; ours has done worse, it has render'd a much greater Number of Lives miserable, who want but the Sickness to finish their Calamity; either by rendering it compleat, or by putting an End to them and that together.

Indeed, had the Alternative been offer'd us half a Year ago, I think it would have been a Symptom of Wisdom in us, to have chosen rather to fall by the Hand of God, than by the execrable Arts of Stock-Jobbers: That we are fallen, is a sorrowful Truth, not only visible in every Face you meet, but in the Destruction of our Trade, the Glory and Riches of our Nation, and the Livelihood of the Poor.

But Complaining does not mend the Matter; and yet what sensible Heart can avoid Complaining, when he hears his dear Country, a whole Country, a potent Nation, a Nation happy in its Climate, in its Prince, and in its Laws, groaning under mighty Evils, brought upon it by mean and contemptible Hands, and apprehending Evils still more mighty? This gives Bitterness to a human Spirit, tho' it suffers no otherwise than by Sympathy: Is there no Way left of doing our selves Justice, and has the Death of our Prosperity extinguish'd all Sense of our Injuries?

'Tis true, it is both prudent and religious in private Persons, to stifle the Notions of Revenge, and calmly to expect Reparation from God and the Law: But Jealousy and Revenge, in a whole People,

People, when they are abus'd, are laudable and politick Virtues; without which they will never thrive, never be eſteem'd. How far they are to carry their Reſentments, I do not pronounce: The Meaſures of it muſt be determin'd by Circumſtances; but ſtill, keen Reſentment ought to be ſhewn, or ſome Puniſhment, or Puniſhments, inflicted: When the Dignity, or Intereſt, of a Nation is at Stake, Mercy may be Cruelty.

To this Spirit of Jealouſy and Revenge, was formerly the *Roman* Commonwealth beholden for the long Preſervation of its Liberty; and ſince, the *Venetian* Commonwealth owes its Preſervation to the ſame Spirit; and Liberty will never ſubſiſt long where this Spirit is not: For if any Crimes againſt the Publick may be committed with Impunity, Men will be tempted to commit the greateſt of all; I mean, that of making themſelves Maſters of the State; and where Liberty ends in Servitude, it is owing to this Neglect. *Cæſar* thought he might do what he had ſeen *Marius* and *Sylla* do before him, and ſo enſlav'd his Country: Whereas, had they been hang'd, he would, perhaps, never have attempted it.

I bring theſe Examples to prove, that Nations ſhould be quick in their Reſentments, and ſevere in their Judgments. As never Nation was more abus'd than ours has been of late by the dirty Race of Money Changers; ſo never Nation could, with a better Grace, more Juſtice, or greater Security, take its full Vengeance, than ours can, upon its deteſted Foes. Sometimes the Greatneſs and Popularity of the Of-

fenders make ſtrict Juſtice unadviſeable, becauſe unſafe; but here it is not ſo; you may, at preſent, load every Gallows (in *England*) with Directors and Stock-Jobbers, without the Aſſiſtance of a Sheriff's Guard, or ſo much as a Sigh from an Old Woman, tho' accuſtom'd perhaps to ſhed Tears at the untimely Demiſe of a common Felon or Murderer. A thouſand Stock-Jobbers, well truſs'd up, beſide the diverting Sight, would be a cheap Sacrifice to the Manes of Trade; and one certain Expedient to ſoften the Rage of the People; and to convince them, that the future Direction of their Wealth and Eſtates ſhall be put in the Hands of thoſe, who will as effectually ſtudy to promote the General Benefit and Publick Good, as others have, lately, moſt infamouſly ſacrificed Both to their own private Advantage. Something is certainly due to both the former. The Reſurrection of Honeſty and Induſtry can never be hop'd for, while this Sort of Vermin is ſuffer'd to crawl about, tainting our Air, and putting every thing out of Courſe; ſubſiſting by Lies, and practiſing vile Tricks, low in their Nature, and miſchievous in their Conſequences.

That a Multitude of Familes are ruin'd, and ſuddenly ſunk from plentiful Circumſtances to abject Poverty, is affecting and lamentable; tho' perhaps all owing to their own raſh Confidence in the Management of known Knaves: That innocent Children, born, as they imagined, to fair Fortunes, and brought up accordingly, muſt now want Bread, or beg it, is a Cataſtrophe that muſt pierce every tender Heart, and produce Pity and Tears: But to ſee one's

Country

Country labouring under all the ſad Symptoms of Diſtreſs, without the Violence of War, without the diabolical Refinements of able Politicians; but purely from the dull Cunning of inferior Rogues, void of Bravery, void of Abilities; Wretches that would run away in the Field, and be deſpiſed in Aſſemblies; this is what ſhould turn Pity into Rage, and Grief into Vengeance.

For a Nation to ſuffer it ſelf to be ill uſed, is of dangerous Example; whether thoſe that uſe it ill be its Neighbours or its Natives: Patience, in this Caſe, invites freſh Injuries; and that People, who would not bear many unjuſt Burthens, muſt not bear one.

A Country, as I ſaid above, ought to do it ſelf Juſtice with Speed, as well as with Vigour: Delay has often render'd a Cure impoſſible in the Body Politick, as well as in Human Bodies: By Delays, the Edge of Reſentment goes off, and the Offender has Leiſure to fortify himſelf by new Rogueries.

I would therefore have my Countrymen take Advantage of the Humour they are in, and make a Virtue of their preſent Anger. Let them rouze the bold Spirit of a free Nation; and ſhew, by all Lawful and Loyal Means, that they, who always ſcorned to be the Property of Tyrants, will not be the Prey of Stock-Jobbers.

I am, &c.

SIR,

A Man robb'd in his House, or on the Highway, receives from the Law all possible Satisfaction: He has the Restitution of his Goods again, where it can be made; and he has the Life of the Offender, if he can be apprehended; and then there is a plentiful Reward given for every such Apprehension. By this salutary Method, Vengeance is at once taken for the Crime committed, and a terrible Example made of its Author, to prevent its Repetition.

The Law is the great Rule in every Country, at least in every free Country, by which private Property is ascertain'd, and the Publick Good, which is the great End of all Laws, is secured; and the religious Observance of this Rule, is what alone makes the Difference between good Laws and none. The Terror and Sanctity of the Laws, are shewn by the Execution of them; and to a Contempt of the Laws, or to a direct dispensing with them, have been owing most of the Shocks and Revolutions, that we have, for many Ages, sustain'd in *England*.

Some Laws are, indeed, unwarily made, being procured by Passion, Craft, or Surprize; but such are generally either suffered to wax obsolete, or are repealed, as we have seen in many Instances, and may yet see in more.

But,

But I speak here of those Laws which have a direct and known Tendency to secure to us what we have, and to preserve us what we are: A free People are kept so, by no other Means, but an equal Distribution of Property; every Man, who has a Share of Property, having a proportionable Share of Power; and the first Seeds of Anarchy, (which, for the most part, ends in Tyranny) are produced from hence, that some are ungovernably rich, and many more miserably poor; that is, some are Masters of all Means of Oppression, and others want all the Means of Self-defence.

What Progress we have lately made in *England*, towards such a blessed State of Confusion and Misery, by the Credulity of the People, throwing their All upon the Mercy of base-spirited, hard-hearted Villains, mischievously trusted with a Power to undo them, is too manifest from the woful Condition we are in: The Ruin is general, and every Man has the miserable Consolation to see his Neighbour undone; for as to that Class of Ravens, whose Wealth has cost the Nation its All, as they are manifest Enemies to God and Man, no Man can call them his Neighbours; they are Rogues of Prey, they are Stock-Jobbers, they are a Conspiracy of Stock-Jobbers! A Name which carries along with it such a detestable deadly Image, that it exceeds all human Invention to aggravate it; nor can Nature, with all her Variety and Stories, furnish out any Thing to illustrate its Deformities by; nay, it gains visible Advantage by the worst Comparisons you can make: Your Terror lessens, when you liken

liken them to Crocodiles and Cannibals, who feed, for Hunger, on human Bodies.

These Monsters, therefore, stand single in the Creation; They are Stock-jobbers; they have serv'd a whole People, as *Satan* serv'd *Job*; and so far the Devil is injur'd, by any Analogy you can make between him and them.

Well; but Monsters as they are, what would you do with them? The Answer is short and at hand, Hang them; for whatever they deserve, I would have no new Tortures invented, nor any new Death devised. In this, I think, I shew Moderation; let them only be hang'd but hang'd speedily. As to their Wealth, as it is the manifest Plunder of the People, let it be restor'd to the People, and let the Publick be their Heirs: The only Method by which the Publick is ever like to get Millions by them, or indeed any thing.

But, say some, when did you ever see Rogues, cover'd with Wealth, brought to the Axe or the Gallows? I own the Example is rare, more is the Shame of this Nation, which has had such rich Temptations, and such frequent Opportunities; we have had publick Guilt in abundance, God knows, often protected by Party, and often by Money. Faction on one side, and Riches on the other, have, as it were, made a Lane for the great Criminals to escape. But all these Escapes, which are, indeed, our Reproach, cannot give any Ground to fear a present one.

This Nation has formerly been bought and sold; but Arts were us'd to blind the People's Eyes, and the Effects of the Treachery were not immediately felt; and we know that the

Resent-

Reſentment of the Vulgar never follows from their Underſtanding, or their Reflection, but from their Feeling: A Pick-pocket may tickle a plain Fellow's Ear, till he has got his Purſe; but if he feels it going, he will knock the Thief down.

We have felt our Pockets pick'd, and we know who have done it: Vengeance abides them.

I am told, ſome of them have the Face to pretend, that they ought not to be put to Death; but we hope the Legiſlature will effectually convince them, that this their Partiality to themſelves is groundleſs: All their Hopes of Safety muſt conſiſt in their Money; and without Queſtion, they will try to make the Wages of their Villainy protect their Villainy. But I cannot ſee how any Sums can ſave them; for as they have robbed and cheated all Men, except their Accomplices, ſo all Men are concern'd to ſee Juſtice done to themſelves; and if the ordinary Channels of Juſtice could be ſtopp'd by Bags of Money, or by Partnerſhip in original Guilt, the inraged, the abus'd People, might be prompted by their uppermoſt Paſſion, and having their Reſentment heighten'd by Diſappointment, might, it is to be fear'd, have recourſe to extraordinary Ways; Ways that are often ſucceſsful, tho' never juſtifiable.

Here are no Parties in this Caſe to diſguiſe Truth, and obſtruct Juſtice; the Calamity is general, and ſo is the Reſentment: All are Sufferers; All will be Proſecutors. The Cry for Juſtice is loud and united; if it be baulk'd, I can propheſy no Good from ſo cruel an Omiſſion.

If

If this mighty, this deſtructive Guilt, were to find Impunity, nothing remains, but that every Villain of a daring or avaricious Spirit may grow a Great Rogue, in order to be a Great Man: When a People can no longer expect Redreſs of publick and heavy Evils, nor Satisfaction from publick and bitter Injuries, hideous is the Proſpect they have before them. If they will tamely ſuffer a Fall from Plenty to Beggary, they may ſoon expect another, and a worſe, from that to Slavery: But I hope better Things of *England*.

I have before my Eyes a wiſe beneficent Prince, a generous and publick-ſpirited Parliament, an able diſintereſted Miniſtry; all contending with each other for the Wealth, the Glory, the Liberty of their Country: And I have before my Eyes a brave and honeſt People, Lovers of Trade and Induſtry, free of their Money, and well-deſerving of the Legiſlature, paſſionate for Liberty, and Haters of Chains; but deluded, drained of their Money, and abuſed beyond Patience, beyond Expreſſion, by mean Sharpers, that ſwagger in the Plunder of their Country.

Where therefore there is ſo much Capacity, and there are ſo many good Diſpoſitions to help us on one Side; ſuch loud and melancholly Calls, for that Help, on another Side; and ſuch open, ſuch execrable, ſuch publick Crimes from a third Quarter; we may hope every thing from the ſpeedy Meeting of the *King and Parliament*. They are our *Protectors*, and *we truſt they do not bear the Sword in vain*.

I doubt not but many Schemes will be laid before them, ſome of them deſign'd for a Source

of

of new Rogueries, and to prevent Enquiries into the old ones. It ſhall be the Buſineſs therefore of this Paper, to watch and examine ſuch Schemes; and to condemn them, or recommend them, juſt as they deſerve.

I have, you ſee, taken the Guilt of our Traytors for granted, as I think all Men do: But becauſe they ſhall have all fair Play, I undertake hereafter, if it is found neceſſary, to prove it, by an Induction of Particulars.

I am, &c.

SIR,

ALL Men are now taught, by miſerable Experience, that the Project of the *South-Sea*, through the hard-hearted Knavery of ſome, who have been in the Direction of it, and through the Folly, or rather Diſtraction of the People, has not anſwered the good and wiſe Ends deſign'd by the Parliament; but inſtead of that, has ruin'd Thouſands of innocent and well-meaning People, to glut Harpies and Publick Robbers with Millions: Unhappy Fate of poor *England*, worthy of a better! For This, Trade has been neglected: For This, Induſtry diſcourag'd: For This, Honeſty abandon'd: For This, Credit undone; and all that Stock-jobbers might make Fortunes, and ſmall Sharpers grow mighty Men.

Every one, therefore, ſeems to agree, that ſomething is neceſſary to be done, in a legal Way,

Way, to reſtore, once more, our Publick Credit. But it is hoped we are far from conſenting that any Thing ought to be done to repair the Loſſes occaſion'd by Folly and Covetouſneſs, out of the Eſtates of thoſe, who always foreſaw, and always oppos'd this mighty Miſchief, much leſs at the further Expence of the Honour and Trade of the Nation.

To ſet this Matter in a due Light, it is neceſſary to enquire what is meant by the Publick Credit of the Nation,

Firſt, Credit may be ſaid to run high, when the Commodities of a Nation find a ready Vent, and are ſold at a good Price; and when Dealers may be ſafely truſted with them, with a reaſonable Aſſurance of being paid.

Secondly, When Lands and Houſes find ready Purchaſers, and when Money is to be borrow'd at low Intereſt, in order to carry on Trade and Manufacture, at ſuch Rates, as may enable us to under-ſell our Neighbours.

Thirdly, When People think it ſafe and advantageous to venture large Stocks in Trade and Dealing, and do not lock up their Money in Cheſts, or hide it under-ground. And,

Fourthly, When Notes, Mortgages, and Publick and Private Security will paſs for Money, or eaſily procure Money, by ſelling for as much Silver or Gold as they are Security for; which can never happen but upon a Preſumption, that the ſame Money may be had for them again.

In all theſe Caſes, 'tis abundantly the Intereſt of a Nation, to promote Credit and mutual Confidence; and the only poſſible Way in Nature effectually to do this, is to maintain Publick

lick Honour and Honesty; to provide ready Remedies for private Injustice and Oppression; and to protect the Innocent and Helpless from being destroy'd by Fraud and Rapine.

But National Credit can never be supported by lending Money without Security, or drawing in other People to do so; by raising Stocks and Commodities, by Artifice and Fraud, to unnatural and imaginary Values; and consequently delivering up helpless Women and Orphans, and the ignorant and unwary, but industrious Subject, to be devour'd by Pick-pockets and Stock-jobbers; a sort of Vermin that are bred and nourish'd in the Corruption of the State.

This is a Method, which, instead of preserving Publick Credit, destroys all Property, turns the Stock and Wealth of a Nation out of its proper Channels, and instead of nourishing the Body Politick, produces only Ulcers, Eruptions, and often Epidemical Plague-Sores: It starves the Poor, destroys Manufactures, ruins our Navigation, and raises Insurrections, &c.

The first Loss is always the least; one half of the Nation is ruin'd already; I hope we may learn Wit from our Misfortunes, and save the other half: In order to this, we may expect, that no new Projects will be countenanc'd or receiv'd, which have any Tendency to prejudice Trade, or which cause Monopolies, or set up exclusive Companies; and that no Privileges or Advantages be granted, for which ready Money might be got.

Some People have the Assurance to publish it, for Example, That a certain Set of Stock-jobbers, whose Faith and Modesty are now well

well known and felt, expect, among other Gifts from the Publick, that the Iſland of St. *Chriſtophers* ſhould be given them, as a further Expedient to get more Wealth to themſelves, and leave the Nation none. Now, St. *Chriſtophers* is worth three hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling, and will yield ſo much: So that to preſent them with this Iſland, would be juſt making them a Preſent of three hundred thouſand Pounds; a Sum almoſt ſufficient to make the Fortune of an Under *South-Sea* Clerk; but ſuch a Sum as this poor Nation cannot at preſent ſpare.

I hope, therefore, that it will no longer be impudently alledged, that by parting with ſuch Gifts, we loſe nothing; ſince that alone is worth nothing, for which nothing can be got: But the Caſe is otherwiſe here; and from the Nature of our publick Gaming, and the Spirit of the worthy Sharpers who direct it, I dare pronounce before-hand, that every Scheme that they themſelves propoſe, to make their Bubble and their Roguery thrive again, will ſtill be built upon the further Expence, and further Loſs and Miſery of theſe unhappy Nations.

If our Money is gone, thank God, our Eyes are left; and ſharpened by Experience and Adverſities, we can ſee through Diſguiſes, and will be no more amaz'd with Moon-ſhine.

The Nation and Parliament have been abus'd, and they will undoubtedly be reveng'd; they will not be put off with dark Juggling, and knaviſh Projects, to ſtifle Reſentments, and divert due Vengeance: There is no attending to any new Schemes, till the Publick Robbers are puniſh'd,

puniſh'd, with whom there can never be any Accommodation.

To begin then, in the firſt Place, with the Criminals, will ſhew that we are in earneſt Champions for Honeſty, for Trade, and for the Nation, all oppreſſed by Money-Leaches. All other Remedies will be Mountebank Remedies: It would be Madneſs to concert new Schemes, liable to new Abuſes, without firſt doing Juſtice to the Abuſers of the old; Impunity for paſt Crimes is a Warrant to commit more, eſpecially when they are gainful.

Such mighty Miſchiefs as theſe Men have done, will be but meanly attoned for by ſuch infamous Lives, unleſs their Eſtates are alſo confiſcated; and even theſe, great as they are, will repair but Part of our Misfortunes. But what we can have of them, let us have; their Necks and their Money.

To begin with any other Project, they will take for a Confeſſion, that there is a Deſign to ſave them; and to what that muſt be owing, we all know; and what further Evils it may produce, may even ſurpaſs our Fears, tho' already terribly great: But a Method of Juſtice preſently enter'd upon, and impartially carry'd through, will give us Patience under our Burdens, baniſh all our Fears, give Credit to the publick Proceedings, and reſtore Hope to the almoſt deſpairing People.

I am, &c.

S. I. R.

SIR,

THIS great Nation, undone by deſpicable Stock-jobbers and their Abettors, has hitherto quietly groan'd under the mercileſs Hands of its Pillagers, and liv'd for ſome Months upon the pure Hopes of Redreſs. We look'd towards the Parliament: His Majeſty and his Miniſtry being abſent, and buſied with the Affairs of this Kingdom Abroad, and in the glorious Aims of ſettling the Peace of *Europe*, and ſtrengthning the Proteſtant Intereſt.

The firſt Part of our Hopes is now almoſt accompliſh'd, the Parliament are juſt upon meeting; and never, ſure, did ever Seſſion open with greater Expectation, or more to do: Every thing is turn'd topſy-turvy; and the Nation thrown into Convulſions, is waiting for the healing Hand of its Repreſentatives.

Many Expedients will, no doubt, be offered without Doors; calculated, in Appearance, to improve the Stock, but, in Reality, deſign'd to ſave the Directors. This is to begin at the wrong End. To pretend to form Schemes for the encreaſing of Credit, before the Deſtroyers, the Cannibals of Credit, are honeſtly and openly hung up to its Manes, is, in ſome ſort, to confeſs, that we had our Inſtructions and Politicks from the Criminals themſelves, and our beſt and only Reaſons out of their Purſes.

Or

Or if we are not thus wicked, we would, at beſt, be miſerably weak to fall into ſuch a prepoſterous Method; and whether great and general Calamities have their Root in Roguery or Folly, is all one to a Nation.

In ſpight of all the Remedies that can be apply'd, Multitudes will ſtill remain undone beyond all Remedy: Nay, for ought I can ſee, there is no practical Remedy at all for what is paſt, ſo effectual has been the Roguery on one Side, and ſo rivetted is the Ruin on the other.

All, therefore, that ſeems to me to be left, even to the united Wiſdom of *Great-Britain*, is the Cure of Prevention, to ſtop the Progreſs of the Contagion, to take care that thoſe which have already ſuffer'd, ſhall ſuffer no more, nor make new Sufferers: It is certain that all Men have ſuffer'd in one Senſe or other, the Criminals excepted. It is hop'd that the miſerable People will now be honour'd with their good Company; and that the Box on the Ear, which wantonly began from them, will in good earneſt be returned to them, and end with them. It is ſome Conſolation to the Inhabitants of a Village, who have been bit all round by a mad Dog, to ſee the Director of the Poiſon, and the Author of their Pain and Danger, honeſtly hung up, or knock'd on the Head.

The prevailing Woe which has long raged, and ſtill ſits hard and heavy upon us, has certainly ſome Authors, and the Directors are generally taken to be theſe Authors; and if they are duly and publickly puniſh'd, they will continue to be taken for the only Authors. But if there is nothing done to them, or nothing effectually

effectually done to them, we ſhall naturally look further, and make bold to know, that tho' they have been Rogues, yet that others had been greater than they; that others have directed the Directors, and were Partners in the Spoil.

But if they ſtand ſingle, and are found the only and original Plunderers of their Country, they will infallibly be given up to publick and crying Vengeance; not only by the Rules of Guilt, but of good Policy. A more popular Thing cannot be done, nor indeed ſo popular a Thing. The Bleſſings of the People, and the univerſal Affections of *Great Britain*, will be ſome of the Rewards attending upon thoſe who will be the generous Authors of publick Juſtice, upon the deteſtable Authors of publick and intenſe Miſery.

I will never ſuppoſe that any Men, or even one Man in any publick Station, did by any Means join with Stock-jobbers to undo their Country; much leſs enabled Stock-jobbers to undo their Country, and ſupported them while they were about it. It would be melancholy and terrible, indeed, to imagine that any publick Men, at leaſt, any Man concern'd in the Finances, or ſet over any Part of the publick Money, by which publick Credit is circulated and ſuſtain'd, ſhould, in Defiance of his publick Truſt, put himſelf at the Head of a Conſpiracy of Stock-jobbers, who were with mercileſs and unclean Hands rifling the Publick itſelf, ingroſſing all its Wealth, and deſtroying, at once, all publick and private Faith.

Such

Such unprecedented Treachery, such overgrown Guilt, can never be supposed. Our Corruptions cannot be yet become so bold and barefaced, nor we so tame. The Thing therefore, by being so very monstrous, must be impossible, whatsoever Suggestions there may be to the contrary; which, were they true, could not fail of calling down double and conspicuous Punishment upon such a *Verres*.

As to those, who lately encouraged a Scheme, out of an honest Purpose to relieve the Publick, and pay off its Debts, they ought, and no Doubt will be the first and the most active to revenge the Publick upon those, who, instead of relieving it, have brought the Publick into such doleful and dying Distress.

By this, they will farther evince the Honesty of that Purpose, and merit still more to conduct our Affairs; and which will undoubtedly be remembred by the honest Freeholders of *England* at a proper Season in their Favour: Our Eyes are upon them, our Confidence is in them, and we wish them good Success in this great Tryal of Integrity and publick Spirit.

I foresee that there will be many who will be loud in their Call for publick Justice, and yet be the first to prevent it. Their Avarice will arm their Tongues with Zeal, and a proper Present disarm it of its Eloquence. However, the Outside of publick Spirit will still be kept on; they will be sure to cry out to the last for Punishment, for severe Punishment; but they will be as sure to find fault with every Expedient proposed for inflicting it. I could name some worthy Patriots, of many Words, and

great

great Weight, who will act this Farce rarely. It will not be the first time——What is humane Life, but a Masquerade? and what is civil Society, but a mock Alliance between Hypocrisy and Credulity?

Magna & misera Civitas, eodem anno tantas Injurias tantumq; pudorem passa, inter Vinios, Fabeos, Ilcelos, Asiaticos, *varia & pudenda sorte agebat; donec succesſere* Mucianus, *&* Marcellus, *& magis alii homines quam alii mores.*

These are the Words of a great Ancient, signal for his Wisdom and strong Observations. Had he lived now, and written in *English*, he would have written thus.

Oh London! *Oh* England! *Oh my Country! How great! And yet how miserable! What Reproach, what Calamities, what Ruin has thou sustained? Sustained, in the Space of one short Year; and less than a Year? Sustained from the Dregs of humane Kind! From Fellows, vile in their Original; and as to their Spirit, Slaves! What opprobrious Deluſions, what deadly Revolutions hast thou suffered to be brought upon thee, by the ignoble Names, and servile Hands of* B——t, L—b—, H——h, *and the like Scum of the Vulgar! And after all this, art thou not yet weary, O my Country! of thy own Shame? Not yet satiated with Devastation and Havock? And wilt thou yet again try the old Knavery, managed by new Knaves?*

I am, &c.

SIR,

SIR,

NO Experience or Sufferings can cure the World of its Credulity. It has been a Bubble from the Beginning; nor is it a bit wiſer for this Diſcovery, but ſtill runs into old Snares, if they have but new Names, and often whether they have or no.

Self-Love beguiles Men into falſe Hopes, and they will venture to incur a hundred probable Evils, to catch one poſſible Good; nay, they run frequently into diſtracted Pains and Expences, to gain Advantages which are purely imaginary, and utterly impoſſible.

Were the Paſſions properly ballanced, Men would act rationally; but by ſuffering one Paſſion to get the better of all the reſt, they act madly or ridiculouſly.

Our prevailing Paſſions in *England*, of late, have been Hope, Avarice, and Ambition; which have had ſuch a headlong Force upon the People, that they are become wretched and poor, by a ravenous Appetite to grow great and rich. Our Fear and Caution were poſtponed; and by a ſanguine Struggle for what we had not, we loſt what we had. Could ſuch Courage be inſpired by Stock-jobbing? A cowardly Science of mean Tricks and Lies!

Every Adventurer in this mighty Lottery, foreſaw that many muſt be Loſers, and that what was got by one muſt be loſt by another;

but every Man hoped that Fate would be kinder to him in particular, than to a thouſand others; and ſo this mad Hope became general, as are the Calamities which it has produced.

This ſhews the little Power that Reaſon and Truth have over the Paſſions of Men, when they run high. In the late Revolution in the Alley, Figures and Demonſtration would have told them, and the Directors could have told them, that it was all Phrenzy; and that they were purſuing gilded Clouds, the Compoſition of Vapour and a little Sunſhine; both fleeting Apparitions! Common Senſe could have told them, that Credit is the moſt uncertain and moſt fluctuating Thing in the World, eſpecially when it is applied to Stock-Jobbing; that it had long before been exalted higher than it could well ſtand, even before it was come to twenty above *Par*, and therefore always tottered, and was always tumbling down at every little Accident and Rumour. A Story of a *Spaniſh* Frigate, or of a few Thieves in the dark Dens of the *Highlands*, or the Sickneſs of a foreign Prince, or the Saying of a Broker in a Coffee-Houſe; all, or any of theſe contemptible Cauſes were able to reduce that ſame Credit into a very ſlender Figure, and ſometimes within her old Bounds: But particularly they might have ſeen, that it was now mounted to ſuch an outragious Height, as all the Silver and Gold in *Europe* could not ſupport; and therefore when People came in any conſiderable Number to ſell, (and to ſell was the whole End of their buying) it would have a dreadful Fall, even to the cruſhing of the Nation. This has ſince dole-

fully

fully happened: Our Hopes, which were our Ruin, are gone; and now we behold nothing but the Face of the Mourner.

But in ſpight of all this Miſchief, produced by Credulity, by manifeſt and ill-grounded Credulity, it is much to be feared that ſome little Art, and big Promiſes, would make us repeat it, and grow mad again. This ſeems evident, not only from the Folly and Feebleneſs of humane Nature, ever the Prey of Craft, and ever caught with Shadows; but from our endleſs gaping after new Projects, and our Eagerneſs to run into them. We have been bruiſed in a Mortar, but we are not wiſer; while one Ruin is yet upon us, we are panting after another, perhaps work'd up by the ſame Hands, or by other Hands with the ſame Views.

O the Weakneſs and Folly of Man! It is like a Whirlpool, which deſtroys and drowns not by Halves, but when a Part is drawn in, the Whole follows.

Surely the Pleaſure is as great,
Of being cheated, as to cheat!

Elſe Men would not be ſuch Dupes, as every where they are. Whoever would catch Mankind, has nothing to do, but to throw out a Bait to their Paſſions, and infallibly they are his Property. This Secret is well known to corrupt Courts, who flatter or frighten their obeying believing Vaſſals into all the Exceſſes of Miſery and Obeiſance. By this, Standing Armies have been maintained; by This, wild Wars have been waged; and by This, an idle, expenſive, abſurd, and cruel Popiſh Hierarchy has been ſupported.

Once more, O wretched Man! Thou willing Inſtrument of thy own Bondage and Deluſion; even Mountebanks know this Secret of cajoling thee, and picking thy Pocket; and worſe than Mountebanks, Stock-Jobbers know it.

When a People are undone, it is ſome Conſolation to reflect, that they had no Hand in their own Ruin, or did all they could to prevent it, by the beſt Counſels they could take, or by the braveſt Defence they could make. But alas, poor *England!* thou haſt not that Conſolation. Thou haſt not fallen by able Traytors; thou art not the Victim of deep Deſign, or artful Treaſon; nor art thou the Price of Victory in the Field; neither art thou out-witted by the ſubtle Dealers in Myſtery and Diſtinction; nor in this Inſtance deceived by their falſe Alarms.

No, we have no ſuch palliating Reflection to reconcile us to our Miſery, or to abate its Pangs: To our deathleſs Shame, we are the Conqueſt, the Purchaſe of Stock-Jobbers. The *Britiſh* Lions crouch to a Neſt of Owls! Can we ſurvive the Remembrance without Revenge?

But all this is complaining, will ſome ſay; and we want Remedies rather than Complaints: To bewail our Calamities, is indeed natural; but to extricate our ſelves out of them, is neceſſary. Here are Two Hundred Millions of Imaginary Property loſt, and at leaſt Twenty Millions of Real Property plundered from the Honeſt and Induſtrious, and given to Sharpers and Pick pockets: Shall theſe Rooks be ſuffered to enjoy it? And ſhall the Bubbles be redreſſed

out

out of other Mens Eſtates, no wiſe chargeable with the Miſchief? Or muſt we proſtitute the publick Honour of the Nation to draw in other People (no way concerned) to take the bold Bargains of raſh Men and Dupes off their Hands? But if none of theſe Methods are taken, our Cullies muſt ſet down with their Loſs, or the Traytors be forced to diſgorge.

If we make new Schemes, or diverſify the old, till Doom's-Day, there will be no paying Twenty Millions without Twenty Millions, or without what is Equivalent to Twenty Millions; which will be the ſame thing to the Nation as the parting with Twenty Millions.

The Payment therefore will either be a real Payment, or a ſham Payment; and in this Caſe, if *caveat emptor* (let the Buyer look to it) be a good general Rule in the Buſineſs of Bargains and Sale, it will be a good Rule here too.

If we have any State-Chymiſts, who have Art enough to make Millions evaporate into Smoak, yet I muſt beg leave to doubt their Skill at conſolidating Smoak into Gold.

I hope I ſhall not be underſtood, by what I have ſaid, to oppoſe an Attempt to redeem us out of our preſent wretched Condition. On the contrary, I ſhall be the firſt to Vote that Man a Statue of Gold, who can ſtrike out an honeſt and skilful Expedient for our Recovery, which I own is far paſt my own Skill. I am no Candidate for the Golden Statue.

By all this, I would only caution my Countrymen not to be caught again; let them beware of new Snares: As to the Loſers, they have

not a great deal to expect; and I can say no more to them here, than that in Countries where the Plague rages, the Preservation of the Whole is the principal Care; the Infected are for the most part left to take care of themselves; and I never heard it suggested that Nine Millions of People ought to be exposed to the mortal Contagion of that Distemper, to preserve a few Individuals.

I *am*, &c.

SIR,

BEware *of the first Step*, will be allowed by all Men, who have any Skill in humane Affairs, to be a commendable Caution in all Proceedings of Moment. In how many Instances do we see, that Things which begin plausibly, end tragically? People have been often enslaved by Princes created by themselves for their Protection, and often butchered by Armies raised by themselves for their Defence. The late *French* King, whenever he was going to shed the Blood of his People, in any wanton War, tho' undertaken to gratify his Lust of Power, or to exalt his own House, never failed to let them know, in an Edict made on purpose, that it was all for their own Good and Prosperity; that is, they were to suffer Slaughter Abroad, and Oppression and Famine at Home, purely for their own Advantage and Felicity.

General

General Propoſitions are, for the moſt part, dangerous, and intended to ſupport Conſequences which, at firſt View, they do not ſeem to mean and imply. They are, therefore, generally plauſible in Appearance, to catch Conſent; from which Conſent, when it is once got, new Advantages are taken, which were not foreſeen; and freſh Articles are added, which were not known to have been deſigned.

In the late long War with *France*, What was more deſirable, what more plauſible than *Peace*? A Bleſſing ſo univerſally underſtood to be one, that the loweſt Vulgar wanted no Words nor Perſuaſions to know its Excellency! And when we were inſulted with this Queſtion, *What, Will you not treat?* To have ſaid *No*, would have been an Anſwer ſo invidious, that ſcarce any Man durſt make it; and yet all wiſe Men then knew, that to conſent to a Treaty at that Time with *France*, conſidering the Perſons and their Intereſts who were to manage it, was to conſent to a Conſpiracy againſt *England* in particular, and to plot againſt all *Europe* in general: We were ſtun'd with the Word *Peace*, nor could we ſtand it, tho' we knew it was hatching Treaſon. In ſhort, to Treat, as ſoft a Phraſe as it was, ſignified neither more nor leſs, than to give to old *Lewis* his wicked Will of all *Europe*, and to the *Tories* their Pretender.

Take another Inſtance. In the preſent *Spaniſh* War, which, we are aſſured, wants nothing but a Form to conclude it, we cannot forget the loud Atteſtations that were every where given us, *That to declare War was ſufficient alone to end the War, and frighten the* Spaniards *into a*

Peace: And who, among us, would not willingly be at the Expence of a Piece of Paper, and of the Heralds Lungs, to ſcare a turbulent and enterprizing Court, as was that of *Philip*, into Moderation and Quietneſs? But the Obſtinacy of *Spain*, the Length of that War, our great Change in Men and Money to ſupport it, and the Condition of our Fleet, worn in the Service of our Allies, or eaten by Worms in the *Mediterranean*, are all ſufficient Leſſons to us, how little we ought to have truſted to ſuch Aſſurances, or to the Word of thoſe that gave them.

Take a third Inſtance. Upon the Eſtabliſhing of the preſent *Eaſt-India* Company, it was reaſonably urged, That ſuch a Company would be no other than a Confederacy of cunning Fellows againſt fair and general Trading, by monopolizing to a few, the ſole Traffick and Riches of a great Continent. To which it was anſwered, that there was no ſuch Deſign; but that every Man who would ſubſcribe his Name in their Books, and comply with ſome eaſy Conditions, would be frankly admitted to ſhare in their Trade: But this was all Hypocriſy or Lying; for no ſooner had the Projectors, by ſuch petty Pretences to publick Honeſty, got the better of Oppoſition, and cook'd up their Project, but it was found that their Trade was impracticable to all but themſelves: Every Trader was obliged to come into the Joint Stock; and all Attempts ſince, for the publick Good, have proved ineffectual againſt ſo formidable a Society.

We

We have a fourth Instance from the first Institution of the *South-Sea*, It was at first pretended, that every Proprietor was to have 6 *per Cent.* for his Money, without Trouble or Deductions, and need not engage in the Trade, unless he chose it. This drew in a great Multitude to vouch for the Scheme, and encourage it; but in passing the Bill, it was found that the crafty Managers had lopt off one *per Cent.* to be applied, as they pretended, to carry on the Trade of the Company, and all were obliged to join in the Chimerical Assiento; by which they have since pillaged the Proprietors of a Million and a half—*See the vast Advantage of losing by Trade!* A Secret well known to the Directors!

The fifth Instance may be taken from the same *South-Sea*. What a rare Sugar-Plumb to the Nation, was a Scheme so finely calculated to pay off the Nation's Debts! What a tempting Bait was here! Even those who saw whither it mischievously tended, and perceived the deceitful Hook under it, could not stand the Scorn and Rebukes of the Many, who swallowed it without seeing it. What fatal Devastation and Poverty it has since produced, by the unparallel'd Treachery of the Directors, and some that are worse than they, the miserable People feel much more sensibly than I can express, pierced as they are with the keen Arrows of merciless Villainy, and unrelenting Distress. We have undone our selves to pay our Debts; and our Debts are not paid. What shall I say? We had once Bread, Money, and publick Faith: But now! What remains to us?

I cannot answer.——Our Grief, our Folly, our Losses, our Dishonour, our cruel Usage, are too big for Words.

I have said so much, to prove how wary we ought to be in going into *new Schemes.* We ought at least to know the Whole of them, before we consent to a Part. It will also behove us to have an Eye to the Quarter from whence they come; whether they be Directors, or their Masters, and Confederates; or Men of fair and upright Characters, whose Souls are honest, and their Hands clean. As to those, who are known to have promoted the mighty Cheat, and the Ruin of their Country; their Infamy is so glaring, that, since they will not have Modesty and Remorse enough to hold their Tongues, and to forbear meddling with the Concerns of a People beggared by them, we ought to mind no more what they say, than the Judge did the House-breaker, who upon his Tryal told his Lordship, that he *would swear the Peace against him, for putting him in Fear of his Life.*

The same may be said of those that are fallen in with the Guilty, and unexpectedly speak the same Note. We guess at their Motives. The powerful Getters would save themselves, by letting others get as much, and perhaps are glad to divide their Gains to escape Punishment.

If any Man would be the unsuspected and fair Author of a new Project, he can recommend it and himself no better, than by shewing it to be honestly consistent with the Punishment of our Million Knaves, the Blood-suckers of

of *England*. A new Scheme, and an Inquiſition into the Management of the old one, may both ſucceſſively go on at the ſame time; and they who ſay they cannot, do but own they are afraid they ſhould. Are they conſcious to themſelves that the Directors may hope to eſcape Part of their Puniſhment, by fathering upon others a great Share of their Guilt, or rather the firſt Power of being guilty?

What mean ſome Men by ſaying, We ought to extinguiſh the Fire, before we enquire into the Incendiaries? Are they ſome of them? Or did they furniſh out Brands to the reſt? Or would they give them Time to run away? The Truth is, the Houſe is already burn'd down, many are burn'd to Death, and all are miſerably ſcorch'd: The Flame has in a manner waſted it ſelf; but thoſe that talk thus, ſeem eager to revive it, by new Devices to ſtir the Embers. All we can now do, is to build the Houſe again, if we can; and hang thoſe that fired it, which we are ſure we ought. Beſides, we have long known who did it; they have been taken in the Fact at Noon day, and every Day. This Thing was not done in a Corner, not at once, nor by one; the Villainy was deliberate, gradual and open.

Theſe Gentlemen do however confeſs, that the Houſe has been ſet on fire; which Confeſſion they would doubtleſs be glad to avoid, if they could: But the Miſery is ſorely felt, and all *Europe* are Witneſſes of it. Can they therefore, after an Acknowledgment that the Nation has been burn'd, have the Face to be contriving Ways to delay the Puniſhment of the Burners?

Burners? Has Self-love no Share in this? And by the Delay of the Puniſhment of others, do they not as good as avow, that they tremble for themſelves? For my part, I can ſee no Difference in this Caſe, between delaying it, and fruſtrating it.

The Expedients for retrieving us, if we can be retrieved, are certainly compatible with Expedients for revenging us; and the latter will facilitate the former. It will give Life to the poor Bankrupt Heart-broken People, if they ſee that their Deſtroyers meet due Vengeance, and that they are like to be no more the Prey of daring Parricides.

I am, &c.

SIR,

THere is not in Politicks a more eſtabliſhed Rule than this; *That, when a corrupt and wicked Miniſtry intend to pillage a Nation, they make uſe of vile and contemptible Inſtruments, to gather in their Plunder, and allow the Miſcreants Part of it; and when the Cry for Juſtice becomes ſtrong and univerſal, they always hang up their faithful Rogues.* By this Means they ſtop the People's Mouths, and yet keep the Money.

But they act by no Rule of good Policy, but are, in Truth, chargeable with Folly, or rather with Phrenzy, who dream that they can prevent this Cry, by the Means that firſt raiſed it, and by Means that will ever produce it.

As

As well might they attempt to prevent the ſpreading of a Deluge, by damming it up; which would prove the direct Method to make a whole Country its Conqueſt; for it will then know no Bounds, but bear down Men, Beaſts, and Cities, before it; whereas its Force and Miſchief are eaſily prevented, if proper Channels are opened for it, and its Torrent is skillfully directed.

The ſimple Multitude, when moſt provoked, are eaſily appeas'd, if they have but Fuel for their Rage: They will ſcarce feel their Miſeries, if they do but fancy that Juſtice is done upon the Authors of their Miſeries. And whatever they ſuffer; the Hanging of a few ſorry Raſcals, who were but the working Tools of a few Greater, will huſh all the Tumult of their Spirits, and reconcile them to Patience and Wretchedneſs.

This Expedient, therefore, to pleaſe them, is conſtantly practiſed by all wiſe Traytors, and able Oppreſſors. But when, thro' the Ignorance of their Pillagers, the Courſe of Juſtice is entirely ſtopt, and the abuſed enraged People can have no Remedy, either real or imaginary, nor one Victim to their Fury, they will naturally and neceſſarily look higher; and who can foreſee where their Vengeance will end?

If a Pyrate, who robs upon the Sea, is hang'd for his Robbery, every Body is ſatisfied with the Death of the Offender: But if the Action is avowed, and he produces a Commiſſion, the State that gave it becomes anſwerable.

All theſe Secrets in Government were excellently underſtood by Queen *Elizabeth*'s Miniſtry, out

cut of whose History I have therefore copied the following Passage, and the following Speech:

The Queen, upon her Return from a Progress, held a Parliament at Westminster; *wherein, among other Things, several good Laws were made for the Relief of the Poor, and of maimed and disabled Soldiers and Seamen; against fraudulent Guardians and Trustees; the Cheats and Impositions of Clothiers, and the Robberies and Outrages committed upon the Borders of the Kingdom towards* Scotland. *But whereas great Complaints were made in the Lower-House, relating to the Engrossing Practice:* (for it seems there were some, who, under the Colour of Publick Good; but, in Reality, to the great Damage of the Kingdom, had got the Queen's Letters Patents, for the sole Privilege and Liberty of vending some particular Sorts of Wares:) *The Queen therefore, to forestall them, published a Proclamation, declaring those Grants to be null and void; and also left them to be try'd at Common Law. A Method which was so acceptable to the Lower-House, that Eighty of that Body were appointed to wait upon her Majesty with their humble Thanks, which the Speaker was to present in the Name of them all. She received them very graciously, and gave her Answer in the following Speech.*

Gentlemen,

I Owe you my best Thanks and Acknowledgments for your Respect towards me; not only for your good Inclination, but those clear and publick Expressions thereof, which have discovered themselves in retrieving me from a Mistake, into which I have

been

been betrayed; not so much by the Faults of my Will, as the Error of my Judgment. This had unavoidably drawn a Blemish upon me, (who account the Safety of my People my chief Happiness,) had you not made me acquainted with the Practice of these lewd Harpies and Horse-Leeches. I would sooner loose my Heart or Hand, than ever consent to allow such Privileges to Engrossers, as may turn to the Detriment of my People. I am not so blinded with the Lustre of a Crown, as to let the Scale of Justice be weighed down by that of an Arbitrary Power. The gay Title of a Prince may deceive such as know nothing of the Secret of Governing; as a gilded Pill may impose upon the Patient: But I am not one of those unwary Princes; for I am very sensible, that I ought to govern for the Publick Good, and not to regard my own Particular; and that I stand accountable to another, a greater Tribunal. I account my self very happy, that, by God's Assistance, I have enjoy'd so prosperous a Government in all Respects, and that he has blessed me with such Subjects, for whom I could be contented to lay down my Crown and Life. I must entreat you, that let Others be guilty of what Faults or Misdemeanors soever, they may not, thro' any Misrepresentation, be lay'd at my Door. I hope the Evidence of a good Conscience will, in all Respects, bear me out. You cannot be ignorant, that the Servants of Princes have, too often, an Eye to their own Advantage; that their Faults are often conceal'd from their Notice; and that they cannot, if they would, inspect all Things, when the Weight and Business of a whole Kingdom lies on their Shoulders.

Here

Here is a Speech, worthy of the Occaſion, worthy a wiſe Prince, worthy of a free People; a Speech that has Truth, and Senſe, and Spirit in it. We may be ſure, from the Frankneſs and Vigour of it, that the Miniſters who adviſed it were no Sharers in the Guilt and Oppreſſion of which it complains: If they had, they would have choſen Words more faint and equivocal; they would have ſhuffled in their Aſſertions; they would have talked more cowardly; and they would have kept off from Particulars: They could not have hid their Guilt and Fears. But here their Boldneſs is the Effect of their Innocence, and prompted by it.

Her Majeſty frankly owns, that ſhe was drawn into an Error; but that it was only an Error of her Judgment, ſhe makes manifeſt by her Alacrity and Forwardneſs to puniſh thoſe Harpies and Horſe-Leeches, who, in her Name, had abuſed the Publick: She owns it juſt; that thoſe Engroſſers ſhould ſuffer: She owns that the Art and End of Reigning, is to advance the Publick Good; and when that Good is not attained, ſhe conſigns to Puniſhment thoſe Rooks and Traytors, thro' whoſe Fault it is not attained. She owns ſhe has been abuſed by her Servants; who, under her Authority, and in the Name of the Law, had ſought their own vile Advantages; and ſhe removes from her ſelf all Guilt, by giving up the Guilty.

Happy Queen! happy in her own Qualifications; happy in thoſe of her Counſellors: But wiſe and good as ſhe was, ſhe could not have

have talked thus, if her Miniſtry had been weak or wicked: Had this been her Misfortune, in ſpite of her Sincerity, Wiſdom and Reſolution, her Speech would have been falſe, faint, and ſilly. But her Counſellors were able and faithful, and made *England* proſper; and if we except ſome Rebellions, and ſome Perſecutions, both the Doings of hot-headed Bigots, her People ſaw nothing during her whole Reign but Felicity and Sunſhine.

This has entailed Bleſſings upon her Memory, and Praiſe upon that of her Counſellors: And indeed, the Happineſs or Miſery of a People will always be the certain Meaſure of the Glory or Infamy of their Rulers, whenever ſuch Happineſs or Miſery is evidently deducible from their Management.

The above Paſſage out of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Hiſtory, I thought not impertinent to our preſent Times: Her People had ſuffered from Harpies and Horſe-Leeches. This ſhews, that the Corruption had not reached the Court; the Hands of her Miniſters were clean, elſe her Speech would have taken another Turn.

Has *England* ſuffered leſs, in this our Day, from Harpies and Horſe-Leeches? Surely no; —— All our Loſſes, Pillages and Oppreſſions, ſince the Conqueſt, do not ballance the preſent great Calamity: From a Profuſion of all Things, we are reduced to a Want of every Thing: Heaven avert the Peſtilence, and the Famine! —— I am afraid the latter begins to be ſorely felt by many Thouſands of our Poor, and even the Rich complain that they can hardly find Money to buy Bread.

And

And ſhall not our Harpies be given up? Shall not their Blood and Money make an undone Nation ſome ſmall Amends for their heavy Depredations and matchleſs Villainy? Certainly they muſt: From a Miniſtry as able, and as innocent, as that of Queen *Elizabeth*, we may expect the Behaviour and publick Spirit of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Miniſtry: Having no Part in the Guilt of Harpies, they cannot dread the Vengeance due to Harpies; they have not raiſed out of their Country's Calamities, Fortunes great as thoſe Calamities; they have no Diſcoveries to dread; they have no Guilt to hide; they have not conſpired with Harpies.

I *am*, &c.

SIR,

THE moſt ſucceſsful Deluders and Oppreſſors of Mankind have always acted in Maſquerade; and when the blackeſt Villainies are meant, the moſt oppoſite Spirit is pretended. Vice acts with Security, and often with Reputation, under the Veil of Virtue.

Hence Atheiſts have ſet up for the greateſt Piety; and, to cover their own real Want of it, have cruelly burned thoſe who really had it. The moſt mercileſs Tyrants have, in the midſt of Oppreſſion, ſet up for the Patrons of Liberty; and, while their Hands were deep in Blood, impudently adopted the

Title

Title of Clemency; and Publick Liberty has almoſt always been given up by thoſe, who paſs'd for the Patrons of Publick Liberty.

The cheating religious Orders of the Church of *Rome* gain the greateſt Wealth, by a Profeſſion of the ſtricteſt Poverty. The Popiſh Inquiſitors, while they deliver over to the Flames a poor Wretch, already half dead with Fears, Famine and Torture, beſeech and adjure the Civil Magiſtrate, who muſt ſee it done, by the Love of God, and the Bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, not to hurt his Life or Limb. And our *Tory* Inquiſitors began their *Occaſional Bill* with a Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience; though the Purpoſe of them, and their Bill, was to deſtroy all Liberty of Conſcience.

Companies and Joint-Stocks are always eſtabliſhed for the Encouragement and Benefit of Trade; though they always happen to marr and cramp Trade: The *Peerage Bill* was to be granted as a Favour to the Commons of *England*, by cutting off the Commons of *England* from all Right to Peerage: And ſome People, to ſave Charges to *England*, are for giving up *Gibraltar*, which is of ſuch Advantage to *England*; being the Security of all our Trade. *Sweden* was once to be deſtroyed, to preſerve the Ballance of Power in the *North*; and now *Sweden* muſt be defended, for the very ſame Reaſon.

When certain Chiefs were at mortal Odds, one Side oppoſing (at all Adventures) whatever the other projected, it was thought conve-

nient

nient to both Sides to come to Terms; for one Party wanted to fill their Coffers, and the other to ſave their Bacon. However, the Good of the Publick was their ſole Aim: They, Good Men! ſought no Perſonal Advantages, though they have ſince got conſiderable ones: But we muſt believe their Sayings, notwithſtanding their Doings.

Stock-jobbing too muſt be declared againſt, whilſt the greateſt Stock-jobbing is promoting. Laſt Year a *South-Sea* Project was to be eſtabliſhed to pay off the National Debts; and now a Project is ſaid to be in Embryo, to remit the greateſt Part of the Debt due to the Nation by the *South-Sea*: And if ſo, the whole Nation is to ſuffer this general Loſs, out of mere Pity to a ſmall Part of the Nation. Twelve Months ago forty Millions was not too much to be truſted with one Company, high in Credit, and its Reputation hoiſted up by publick Authority; but now, when they are bankrupt and undone, and when their Directors and Undertakers are univerſally hated and deteſted, it is to be fear'd, it ſeems, that they will become too formidable, if all the Stock ſubſcribed into them, be continued with them.

There is, therefore, I am told, a Project on foot, in *Exchange-Alley*, to deliver up the Nation to Three Companies; and to let them divide us, their Cully, among them. In order to prevail upon theſe Three Great Societies to accept us as a Preſent, to be uſed as they think fit, I humbly preſume we muſt behave ourſelves as follows: We can do no leſs than

ſacrifice

ſacrifice the poor half-ſtarv'd Manufactures to one of them, and oblige ourſelves to lay no Reſtraint upon *India* Callicoes, *&c.* We muſt alſo confirm the Clauſe which makes that Society perpetual. New Trades, more Monopolies, and freſh Privileges, muſt be given to another Great and Virtuous Company, which had made ſo good Uſe of the Old: And the *Bank of England*, which long preſerv'd its Integrity, muſt be bought into the Conſpiracy; and, without doubt, ſomething more muſt be given them, perhaps the Increaſe of their Term.

Now, if this mighty Project, this noble Deſign, can be accompliſh'd; I ſuppoſe every one will ſee, or be prevail'd upon to ſee, the abſolute Neceſſity why all paſt Errors, and former Management, ſhould be forgot; becauſe Publick Credit, which depends upon Temper and Moderation, muſt not be interrupted by ill-timed Enquiries, nor diſturbed by publick Vengeance —— How finely we are to be diſpoſed of; and how ſafe it is to provoke us!

The Projectors of ſuch a Publick Good muſt deſerve well from their Country; and I will give City Security, that they ſhall be no Loſers by it. Where is the Wonder, or ill Policy of the Plunderers and Diſhonourers of the Nation, if the Betrayers of their Truſt ſhould keep a little ill-gotten Wealth, to preſerve the publick Peace? Without doubt, they will give large Shares of their Prey to thoſe who have Power to let them keep the reſt; and will readily help their Projectors and Coadjutors with their honeſt

neſt Skill and Endeavours, to form new Projects, to get as much as they have done.

There lives in a certain Kingdom, a certain Gentleman, of no mean Importance there at preſent, who was Agent to one who had the Cuſtodium of a forfeited Eſtate there, worth Twelve Thouſand Pounds a Year; and when he gave in his Account to his Succeſſors, brought the Eſtate ſome Hundreds of Pounds in Debt to himſelf. The other reſented this with ſome menacing Expreſſions, but could get no other Anſwer from him, but that he would abide by his Account: *However*, ſays he, *if you will be diſcreet, I will help you to the Man that helped me to this Account.*

But what now, if, after all, there ſhould be a little Jobb in a Corner; and if any Gentleman, of remarkable Merit, ſhould have Amends made him for his Services, Sufferings, and Loſſes of late Years? Why there is nothing uncommon in it; for, *who will ſerve the Lord for nought?* This certainly can be no Reaſon for rejecting a Project, which will reſtore publick Credit, fill the Alley again, raiſe *South-Sea* Stock to Three or Four Hundred, and help the preſent Proprietors to new Bubbles; without doing any other Miſchief, than that of ruining a few Thouſand Families more, and of not paying off the Nation's Debts.

Theſe, I confeſs, are potent Reaſons; and will, without doubt, have their due Weight with all Perſons intereſted: But, for myſelf, who am ſo unfortunate as often to differ from my Betters, I can find nothing in this Propoſal, which has any Tendency to help the preſent

ſent Company, or to raiſe Credit, in any Reſpect, or to retrieve us from our Great and National Calamities; but, on the contrary, to plunge the Publick inevitably into irretrievable Ruin, by making it impoſſible, by any Medium in Nature, but that of a Spunge, to diſcharge our National Burthens: It will, beſides, deprive us of our only colourable Pretence, which could juſtify or excuſe the late dreadful Scheme; and which, I believe, I may ſafely ſay, was the only Pretence ever offered to excuſe it. I think it will be Liſting the Three Great Companies, with all the money'd Intereſt in *England*, againſt *England*; and will, at laſt, reduce, and even force, all Parties not to oppoſe what I dread to name, and tremble to think of.

The Project abovemention'd is calculated, we are told, for the Advantage of the *South-Sea*, and for the Improvement of their Stock; and, in order to this, a great Part of that Stock is to be given away to the *Bank of England*, and to the *Eaſt India* Company; without any apparent Conſideration to themſelves, or any other Uſe to the Publick, than the uniting the Three great Companies in one Intereſt; and conſequently, the forming ſuch a potent Conſpiracy againſt the whole Kingdom, as nothing but a total Confuſion of all Things can diſſolve. O Companies, Companies! ye Bane of Honeſty, and Ruin of Trade; but the Market of Jobbers, the Harveſt of Managers, and the Tools of Knaves, and of Traytors!

It is propoſed, that the *South-Sea* is to give the *Bank* an Hundred and Twenty Pounds for every

every Hundred Pound of Stock in the *Bank*; which Stock is ſaid to be but barely worth Ninety Pounds; even tho' we ſhould ſuppoſe that they had never divided any of their Principal: Which, whether they have done it or not, no body but themſelves can know: But at this Rate, however, they muſt divide, whenever they are paid off by the Government.

But we are told, that they are to be let alſo into the Profits of Banking; from which Profits, 'tis ſaid, that they are enabled to divide Three *per Cent.* upon the Old Capital, beſides the Five *per Cent.* paid them by the Government: But, even upon this Foot, the greater their Capital is, the leſs they will be able to divide: And conſequently when Nine Millions are added to their Old Capital, they will not be able to divide much above One *per Cent*, which is not the Intereſt of the Money paid in Difference between Ninety, which is the real Value, and an Hundred and Twenty, which is the nominal Value.

Beſides, there is no Probability that the *Bank* can continue to make, for the future, the ſame Gain of Banking as heretofore. The Trafficking in publick Tallies, from whence that Gain chiefly aroſe, will be at an End, unleſs there be new Funds given, and new Debts contracted.

The Contract propoſed by theſe People, to be made with the other Company, is ſtill worſe; for, there they are to give a Hundred and Twenty Pounds for a Hundred Pound Nominal Stock, which is ſuſpected to be worth very little; ſome Men being of the Opinion, that the

the greateſt Part of the Ten *per Cent.* divided for ſome Years paſt, has been pocketed out of other People's Money, borrowed by the Company upon their Bonds: And yet for this choice Bargain, they are to give Six Hundred Thouſand Pounds at preſent, and ſubject Nine Hundred Thouſand Pounds more to be diſpoſed of according to the Pleaſure, Skill, and Honeſty of the preſent Directors. A pretty Sum, and doubtleſs ſet apart to anſwer and accompliſh ſome lovely Jobb, which will appear in proper Time, and by which the Projectors of the Scheme I dare ſay will be no Loſers!

'Tis ſaid too, that the Trade of this Company may be enlarged; I ſuppoſe they mean, by bringing in more *India* Manufactures, to the Ruin of our own.

Now all this we are given to underſtand is for the ſole Benefit of the *South-Sea*; and if they have not Senſe to conceive it aright, a worſe Thing may befall them: We all know, what Directors and their old Patrons carry Halters about their Necks, though they have Millions in their Pockets; and who would not give away a little of other People's Money, to ſave a great deal of their own, with their Lives into the Bargain? ——— A ſpecial Set of Traytors, to negotiate for the very Being of a Kingdom!

But I muſt tell all theſe Forgers of Schemes, and Inventers of Grievances, that the Nation, exhauſted by paſt Projects, cannot bear new ones, nor furniſh out more Millions to glut more Harpies. The Want of Bread, long felt by the Poor, begins now to be felt by the Rich.

The Purſes therefore of the New Conſpirators muſt be filled out of the Extortions and Depredations of the Old, or remain empty; they may rack their Invention, ſift every Topick of Knavery, and toſs and change their Projects as much, and as long as they pleaſe, but we know that nothing but plain Honeſty can ever ſave us; and to thoſe who would practiſe Honeſty, plain Speech is beſt. Let us honeſtly hang up thoſe that have deceived and undone us, and let us beware of new Deceivers and new Deſtroyers: Let us, with a Severity equal to our Diſtreſs, examine what the Directors and their Maſters have embezzled, and loſt to their Country, by their mercileſs Villainy and conſuming Avarice; and let us have the only Satisfaction they can make us, their Lives, and their Eſtates: Let, afterwards, a fair Valuation be made of their preſent Capital, and let all the World know it; that the Purchaſer may buy ſolid Subſtance, and not a fleeting Shadow. This is the honeſt Way to reſtore Credit again; this will prevent the roguiſh Part of Stock jobbing; and this will throw the remaining Money into Trade once more.

But what, may ſome ſay, if we ſhould give away from the *South-Sea* Company ſome Millions to make new Friends, and to ſave our old Friends, ſo long as we can make that Company amends out of the Publick, for ſuch a Loſs? A Thing eaſily done! —— It is only giving them back again the Seven Millions already due by them to the Publick; or at leaſt the greateſt Part of thoſe Seven Millions, as the ſame ſtand ſecured upon Forty Millions; and

if

if we do this, behold the Advantage that will accrue from it! We will then be under no Neceſſity of hanging our Countrymen, or calling up any to diſgorge their honeſt Gains: Beſides, it is to be hoped that this Propoſal will be back'd with ſuch powerful Motives, as to meet with little Oppoſition.

This calls to my Mind a Compariſon, which I have been for ſome Time very apt to make, between the *French* Projectors, and thoſe of another Country which I know. The firſt plunder for the Publick; the other plunder the Publick: The one robs Part of the People for the Whole People; the other robs the Whole People for a ſmall Part of the People.

This Compariſon may be the Subject of another Letter to you, if you think fit to print this.

I am, &c.

SIR,

WHEN we compare one Nation with another, and ballance the Power of both, we are not to conſider alone the Number of People, or the Wealth diffuſed amongſt the People; though Number and Wealth are undoubtedly the firſt Elements of Power in a Commonwealth; no more than we are to conſider the meer Extent of Territory, or the meer Fertility of Soil: But we are chiefly to conſider, how much of that Wealth can be brought

together, how it may be moſt frugally manag'd, and how moſt skilfully apply'd to the publick Emolument and Defence.

If in taking Labour and Manufactures, we exceed a certain Proportion, we diſcourage Induſtry, and deſtroy that Labour and thoſe Manufactures. The like may be ſaid of Trade and Navigation; they will bear but limited Burthens: And we find by Experience, that when higher Duties are laid, the Product is not increaſed; but the Trade is loſt, or the Goods are run.

Nor can more be extorted from the Gentleman and Freeholder, than he can ſpare from the Support of his Family, in a Way ſuitable to his former Condition.

When Impoſitions exceed theſe Bounds, the Hiſtory of all Ages will convince us, that their Produce is only Bitterneſs, Murmurings, univerſal Diſcontents; and their End, generally Rebellion, and an Overthrow of the then preſent Eſtabliſhment, or of publick Liberty.

If therefore one State, for Example, poſſeſſed of five times as much true but ſcattered Wealth, as another State, cannot for all that, from a Defect in its Conſtitution, collect ſo much from the People as the poorer State can; or, if when collected, does yet truſt the ſame to the Diſpoſal of Blood-ſuckers and Traytors, who intercept the National Wealth, and divert it to private Purſes; or if it is appropriated, before it is raiſed, to the Payment of former Debts; or if it is embezzled in Penſions and Sallaries to mercenary Men for traiterous Ends; Then is ſuch a State really weaker than the

other

other poorer State, and leſs capable of defending itſelf againſt the other, ſo much it's Inferior in outward Shew and intrinſick Power.

This was the State of *Spain* for near Two Hundred Years; *Spain*, the Miſtreſs of ſo many Nations, and of a new World, richer in Silver and Gold than the old; *Spain*, that from terrifying all Chriſtendom with Chains, and from threatning all *Europe* with univerſal Slavery; reduced itſelf, by mortgaging its publick Revenues, to ſuch a deſpicable Condition, that we have ſeen in our Days, that once formidable Kingdom contended for by two ſmall Armies of Foreigners, within its own Bowels: In which Conteſt, the Natives themſelves were little more than Spectators; as is very juſtly obſerved by the Author of a Pamphlet printed laſt Year, and written with a Spirit which I pretend not to imitate. Had that Pamphlet been generally read, and well weigh'd, it would have prevented moſt of the Miſchiefs we now lamentably labour under. It is intituled, *Conſiderations upon the State of the Publick Debts in general, and of the Civil Liſt in particular.* I would recommend it to the Reading of every one, who is not aſhamed of being an honeſt Man.

It is certain, that all the powerful Nations of *Europe*, who were Parties to the two laſt bloody and expenſive Wars, were reduced by mortgaging their publick Revenues, to the ſame low and abject Condition; and nothing ſaved any one of them from all the reſt, but that all the reſt were in the ſame State of Impotence and Diſtreſs. They were all miſerably weak. That People therefore, who can ſooneſt diſ-

charge their publick Burthens, will give Laws to the reſt, and either reduce them to Subjection and Vaſſalage, or to a Neceſſity of ſeizing their mortgaged Funds.

There are in the World but two Ways of clearing a Nation of its publick Engagements: The one is by paying them off; and the other is, not to pay them at all. When one cannot be practiſed, a ſmall Skill in Politicks will tell us, that the other muſt.

It is a Jeſt for any Man to flatter himſelf, that any State will not ſave the whole People, by the Ruin of a Part of the People; when the Ruin of a Part is abſolutely neceſſary to the Preſervation of the Whole. This Conſideration ſhould, methinks, be worth the Attention of the Gentlemen Inhabitants of the Alley. In truth, nothing would exerciſe their Thoughts more, were it not that every one hopes to ſave one, by cheating another into a hard and knaviſh Bargain. Will Men never have done Hoping? They forget how they were caught laſt Year in the *South Sea*, with all their Hopes and their Wiſdom about them.

It is doubtleſs the laſt Misfortune to a Nation, to be beholden to a Spunge for the Payment of its Debts; ſuch a Neceſſity muſt be a heavy Neceſſity, attended with many ſorrowful Circumſtances, and much ſore Diſtreſs. Nothing but the certain Fear of foreign Force, or domeſtick Tyranny, can juſtify it. But every great Calamity is eligible, in compariſon of a greater. Every Perſon, therefore, who is a Creditor to his Country, and has Demands upon the Publick, is nearly concern'd to prevent

ſuch

ſuch great and perſonal, and indeed general Miſery; which cannot be at all prevented, but by putting the National Debts into a Method of being honourably diſcharged. This is the Concern of every honeſt Man; this ought to be the Care of every worthy Citizen; and this will be the Task of every guiltleſs Great Man.

All innocent Men thoughout the World, find a private Bleſſing in the general Felicity of the Publick; and none but mock Patriots, who fooliſhly or deliberately can lead Kingdoms into Ruin; thoſe deſperate hard-hearted Parricides, who can wantonly ſuck out the Vitals of their Country, whoſe Fortunes are often the Plunder of the Publick, and whoſe Creatures are Conſpirators, hired againſt the Publick; I ſay, none but Traytors can find private Joy in publick Confuſion, or their own Security in the Slavery of their Country. Thoſe, 'tis true, who earn Vengeance by committing mighty Crimes, would doubtleſs go on to reſemble themſelves, and to avoid it, if they could, by committing Crimes ſtill more mighty. If any amongſt us ſhould be capable of practiſing ſuch great Wickedneſs to get enormous Wealth, ſuch Perſons, if not prevented, might ſtill practiſe greater to keep it. A Fox purſued by the full Cry of the Hounds, will run into the Dog-Kennel for Shelter; as at the Battle of *La Hogue*, the *French* Fleet fled thro' the Race of *Alderney*, and ventured Rocks and Shelves to eſcape from the conquering Enemy.

It is a Folly, and indeed an Infatuation, in any Perſons intereſted in the Publick Funds, to

form any Schemes, or to fall into any Schemes for increasing those Funds, or continuing them, any longer than is absolutely necessary to pay them their Debts: When our neighbouring Nations have cleared theirs, we too must clear ours, or we are undone. 'Tis said indeed a Revolution in Government would certainly and effectually do it, and do it at once; and this I take to be the true Reason why so many unthinking Men appear to wish it; tho' I hope it is in vain. God avert so dreadful a Catastrophe!

Spain has already discharged it self of its publick Burthens, by a general Sweep: And behold the Effect of this! It again shews its Head in the World; and again it carries its Armies into new Countries. *Holland* lies still, free from new Broils, and fresh Expence: It politically pleads Poverty: It takes all Ways in its Power to recover its Losses; and questionless laughs in its Sleeve to see another Nation grow more mad, and more in Debt every Year; to see it every Year mortgaging new Revenues, and every Year engaging in wild Wars, to support the Interests of a State of no Concernment to that Nation.

But the most terrible Instance of all, is that of *France*: That Government, tho' to the Ruin of great Multitudes of other People, has almost, if not quite, got rid of its Incumbrances and Engagements. The whole Wealth of that great Kingdom is now got into the Hands of the Publick. From which formidable Situation of theirs, is there not room to fear, that as soon as the present Confusion is a little abated, they will renew their Designs for Empire, and throw

Europe

Europe into Arms again? This is an alarming Reflection! And what do the Gentlemen of the Alley expect from us, under such an ill-boding Circumstance? Trade is already burthened as much as it can bear, and perhaps more than it ought to bear: There is scare a Commodity that can be tax'd, but is already tax'd. We are mark'd, we are mortgag'd from Head to Foot. They do not surely expect that the Parliament will give Ten Shillings in the Pound upon Land, or that it could be raised if they did.

What therefore are we to do in such a calamitous Case? Are we to save ourselves at the Expence of the Gentlemen of the Alley? Or are we to perish together with them? The Choice is easy. Can they be so weak as to form a pretended Necessity, to bring their Country into such unhappy Circumstances; and yet not fear that wise and honester Men may take Advantage of a real Necessity, to get out of such unhappy Circumstances?

There is but one Thing to be done, to save themselves and their Country together; and that is, to put the Debts into a Method of being certainly and speedily paid off. The present Establishment may be saved, tho' they are undone: But if thro' Folly or Knavery, the Establishment sinks, they must sink with it. I hope therefore they will not be decoyed into any traiterous Designs of desperate Men; Men, whose Characters are but faintly expressed by that of Parricides; Men, who, had they studied the Art of making us miserable, could not have been more accomplished in their Trade, nor boast of compleater Success. Where

is our Trade, by which we ſo long flouriſhed? It is loſt. Where is our Publick Faith, once our own Boaſt, and the Envy of foreign Nations? It is fled; and one Man has no longer any Faith in another. Where is our Money? Where are our current Millions? The People have none.——The moſt part find it hard to buy Bread, and many find it impoſſible. Every Man you meet complains that he is undone. All our Coin is engroſſed, pocketed by vile Jobbers, and their Prompters and Confederates; the Publick Robbers, who, to keep what they have got, and to eſcape deſerved Puniſhment, (if ſuch Puniſhment can poſſibly be found) would deliver up the Wealth and Power of *England*, into the griping and polluted Hands of a new Conſpiracy of Stock-Jobbers, worſe than the laſt, by being more numerous and potent. With theſe they would combine for common Defence, and for publick Deſtruction; with theſe, contrive new Ways to enlarge our Miſeries, ſhorten our Enjoyments ſtill more, and grind us ſtill ſmaller; with theſe, they would form into ſuch a Confederacy againſt their common Country, and againſt common Honeſty, as would mock even the Endeavours of a Legiſlature to diſſolve it. Good God! what implacable Men! thus mercileſly bent to ruin the very Ruins of their Country.

What *Briton*, bleſſed with any Senſe of Virtue, or with common Senſe; what *Engliſhman*, animated with a publick Spirit, or with any Spirit, but muſt burn with Rage and Shame, to behold the Nobles and Gentry of a great Kingdom; Men of Magnanimity; Men

of

of Breeding; Men of Underſtanding, and of Letters; to ſee ſuch Men bowing down, like *Joſeph*'s Sheaves, before the Face of a dirty *Stock-Jobber*, and receiving Laws from Men bred behind Counters, and the Deciſion of their Fortunes, from Hands ſtill dirty with ſweeping Shops!

Surely we ſhall never ſuffer this to be our Caſe, and therefore ſhall never ſee it. It is ridiculous to think that a Nation, free as we are, and bold by being ſo, will ever ſubmit to ſuch Indignities: It is therefore eaſy to foreſee, if once we fooliſhly take the firſt Step, what will neceſſarily be the next. One Oppreſſion cannot be ſupported but by another, and a greater; and Force and Violence alone can do what Reaſon cannot and will not do. Theſe Hardſhips will produce new Wants, and new Neceſſities for Money; which Money, if ſuch Men can have their Will, will only be to be had from theſe Companies, and from them only, upon hard Conditions, and in exchange for new Privileges, ſtill tending to the Detriment of general Trade, and ending in the total Ruin of the Nation.

The Nation will be provoked in Proportion as it is diſtreſs'd; ill Uſage will be return'd with Rage: And then, I doubt not, when theſe Projectors have rendred the People diſtracted, they will tell us that it will not be ſafe to venture them with another Election. They will do every Thing in their Power to make the Kingdom diſaffected; and then urge that Diſaffection as a good Reaſon not to truſt them.

This

This Conduct will produce neceſſarily more and higher Diſcontents; Diſcontents will make Armies neceſſary; Armies will enflame thoſe Diſcontents ſtill more vehemently. I dare think no further — But ſure there is no one who loves King GEORGE and his Government, but will endeavour to prevent theſe diſmal Miſchiefs, before it is too late.

No Man living laments the Calamities brought upon his Country, more than I do thoſe brought upon mine: And yet I freely own, that I think the paying off the Nation's Debts, and reſtoring, by that Means, the Kingdom to its Power, its Grandeur, and its Security again, was an End worth all the Evils which we have yet ſuffered; an End which ought, if poſſible, to have been purchaſed with greater than we have yet ſuffered, if it could not otherwiſe have been purchas'd. I think it ought to have been done, tho' attended with many ill Circumſtances; and might have been done even upon thoſe hard Terms, with Juſtice to private Men, and Honour to the Nation. We are not a People without it; nor is it worth while to diſpute about the beſt Cabbin in a Ship that is ſinking.

This Proſpect gave me ſome Pleaſure, and ſome Relief to my Thoughts, made anxious by the melancholly and importunate Clamours of Thouſands and Ten Thouſands of my diſtreſſed Countrymen: But when I was told that a Project was formed by Men of Figure, Power, and Fortune, to give back all, and the only Advantage which we were to reap, or could reap from ſo many Miſeries; and which could

could alone palliate or excuſe ſuch a wild and deſperate Attempt, and which was ever offered, or can yet be ſuggeſted by the wiſeſt Men in behalf of it; I confeſs I was ſeiz'd with Horror and Confuſion from ſuch News, and could ſee nothing before my Eyes but total Deſolation and final Ruin.

To tell us that this is to be done out of Tenderneſs to the Miſerable, is adding Contempt to the Injury: It is inſulting our Underſtandings, and playing with the publick Misfortunes; it is firſt to make us Beggars, and then to treat us like Idiots. With as much Modeſty did a grand Monarch, who was known to make himſelf Sport, for above half a Century, with the Lives of Men, pretend to ground his Deſire of Peace, upon a conſcientious Inclination he had to prevent the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood.

Thoſe who have the leaſt Compaſſion, Virtue and Tenderneſs, will ſhew it upon the propereſt Objects: they will prefer the Security and Welfare of many Millions, to the Security and Welfare of ſome Thouſands, tho' they ſhould prove many Thouſands; eſpecially if the latter prove to have been covetous and unthinking Men, caught themſelves in the Snare which they ſpread for others: For by theſe wild Bargains, no Man is undone, but he who intended the Favour, of being undone, to ſomebody elſe. Theſe Gentlemen, pretending to ſo much Tenderneſs and Compaſſion, will not at leaſt ſacrifice thoſe who always foreſaw the Miſchief, and always oppoſed it, to the Relief of ſuch who contributed to it;

who

who made corrupt Applications for an early Admittance into the Advantage of the Secret; who ſwallow'd Plumbs in their Imaginations, and ridiculed as Fools or Beggars all that kept at a wiſe and honeſt Diſtance.

Pity and Compaſſion are charming and engaging Sounds, when rightly applied; but Pity and Compaſſion do not conſiſt in protecting Criminals from Juſtice, and in ſuffering the Devourers of a Nation to go off with the Plunder of a Nation; nor in oppreſſing the People over again, to make the Loſer amends: Neither do they conſiſt in giving away the publick Treaſure of Nations to private Men for no Reaſon, or for very bad Reaſons; nor in engaging a Kingdom in wild and romantick Expences, to ſerve wild and romantick Purpoſes; neither do they conſiſt in ſacrificing the Trade and Manufacture of a whole People, and in Conſequence the Bread of a whole People, to the deſtructive Intereſts of Societies of Stock-Jobbers, combined with publick Plunderers for mutual Defence.

Our wiſe and diſintereſted Legiſlature mean other Things; they have told us that they will not relieve one Part of the diſtreſſed and deluded Bubbles, to the Detriment of others, who have as much Pretence to Relief as themſelves; and it is impoſſible to imagine that they will give up the unoffending and almoſt deſpairing People (whoſe Intereſts they are choſen to aſſert) to repair the Loſſes of unwary Men; and to put thirty Millions in the Pockets of twenty Stock-Jobbers.

Can it be ſuppoſed that the Parliament will refuſe to make void haſty and private Bargains, founded

founded in Corruption and Fraud, and made without any one honeſt Conſideration? And ſhall this Refuſal be made for the publick Good? And yet ſhall that very Parliament be thought capable of making void a publick Bargain, made for the publick Good, with the greateſt Deliberation, and upon the weighteſt Motives in the World? Which Bargain was indeed the chief, if not the only Cauſe, that drew upon us our preſent great Calamities.

But we are told by the Projectors, that the Company is not able to pay the Publick the Sum ſtipulated; and the King muſt loſe his Right, where his Right is not to be had. This is impudently as well as ſtupidly ſaid; for the Security is already in the Hands of the Publick: The Nation owes the Company near Forty Millions, and nothing is neceſſary but to ſtop the Payment of Seven.

But it is further urged by the Projectors, that the Company will be undone, if ſo much is ſtopt from them; and I aver, that the Nation is undone, if it is not ſtopt.

Here a very pleaſant Obſervation offers it ſelf: For this very ſame Project, which would mercifully remit to the *South-Sea* the ſeven Millions due by them to the Publick, is intended to raiſe a Hundred Pounds Capital Stock, in the Company, to three or four Hundred Pounds in Value; I will ſuppoſe only to three Hundred; and even then their preſent Capital being about twenty ſix Millions, the whole will be worth about eighty Millions; and ſurely, if the Publick gives them ſuch an immenſe Advantage, they may well afford to pay

pay the ſmall Sum of ſeven Millions, due to the Publick, out of it. Our own Laws, and the Laws of every Country in the World, give Precedence to the Prerogative, in the Buſineſs of Debtor and Creditor; and always ſecure the Debts due to the Publick, whatever becomes of thoſe due to private Men. Surely we ſhall not reject the Wiſdom of Nations, and invert the Maxims of Government, that while we confirm the Bargains of particular Men, we deſtroy thoſe made for the Benefit of all the Men in the Kingdom.

But there is yet ſomething more abſurd in this Project: For the Bargain was made with the Old Company, who were to give three Millions and a half, certain, to the Publick; and about three Millions more, if they could purchaſe in the Annuitants: Which Sum they could have afforded to the Publick, if they could but have raiſed their Stock Thirty *per Cent.* upon the whole Stock ſo united: But we have, in Fact, ſeen its imaginary Value encreaſed, at one Time, more than two Hundred Millions; which has enabled thoſe in the Secret, to carry off more than twenty, if not thirty Millions.

Valuing the Stock, at preſent, at two Hundred, which is leſs than the Stock ſells for, the old Capital alone is advanced near twelve Millions above its firſt Value; and conſequently is able to pay Seven, without the Aſſiſtance of the New Subſcribers: And, if the Projectors of the Scheme advance the Stock to three or four Hundred, as they pretend they will; then the firſt Contractors, and thoſe who ſtand in

their

their Places, will double or treble their Capital; tho' they alone were to pay the Publick the poor Conſideration which has enabled them to do ſo.

Hard Fate of poor *England*, to be thus the laſt regarded, even in Schemes and Deliberations which purely regard *England*! Private Men, who have been bubbled, are to be pitied; but muſt Private Men, who have contributed to the Publick Ruin and their own, be regarded preferably to the Publick; and muſt Publick Compaſſion be ſhewn to Private Dupes, rather than to the Publick its ſelf?

Poor *England*! What a Name art thou become! a Name of Infatuation and Miſery! How art thou fallen! how plundered! And thoſe that have done it, would, to keep their Spoil, agree to aſſiſt others to ſqueeze out thy laſt Dregs, and to ſuck out thy remaining Blood. How paſſive do they think thee! How tame would they make thee! an eaſy Prey for Devourers; who, while they hold thee faſt, and gripe thee hard with Iron Claws, aggravate thy Miſery by mocking it, and inſolently talk of Compaſſion.

What keener Indignities can they do us, than thus to jeſt with us, while we are gaſping, while we are expiring, in the midſt of the Pangs and Convulſions into which they have wantonly and wickedly thrown us!

Odd is that Compaſſion which ariſes from Guilt and Avarice; and with how much Modeſty would they Chriſten, with the deluding Title of Pity, that Conduct, which would prove in effect to be only Impunity to the Murder-

Murderers of our Proſperity, and the Manglers of their Country! Thus would they inſult our Underſtanding, and deal with us as if we had none.

How long ſhall we ſuffer under this pungent Uſage, this painful Diſgrace to our Senſe and our Spirit? Patience under Indignities, invites freſh Indignities. We ſee our Parricides do, as it were, take Pains to invent new Miſeries for us——A hard Task! conſidering thoſe they have already accompliſhed. Nay, they act as if they deſpair'd of making us deſperate.

They may be miſtaken. And indeed, in the whole String of their Politicks, I could never diſcover any one Symptom of their Skill in Human Nature, except that which they learn'd from Brokers and Pedlars in Stocks.

In truth, Matters are come to that paſs, that an Endeavour to make them worſe, may probably make them better; *Res nolunt male adminiſtrari.* All Men ſuffer, all Men are allarm'd; Reſentment rages high, and gathers thick from all Quarters; and tho' it may ſeem big with ſome terrible Event, yet it may be prevented by Anticipation.

Our Eyes are upon the Parliament, and ſo are the Eyes of *Europe.* We have begun to conceive Hope from the bold and upright Spirit, which appears in our Repreſentatives to right us and to revenge us. They have, indeed, a great and unprecedented Opportunity given them of ſecuring to themſelves, in the Hearts of all *Engliſhmen*, a Monument of grateful Praiſe and Publick Spirit, and of perpetuating

that

that Praiſe in the Memory of every *Briton*, till Time ſhall be no more.

I am, &c.

SIR,

Salus Populi Suprema Lex eſto: That the Benefit and Safety of the People conſtitutes the ſupreme Law, is a univerſal and everlaſting Maxim in Government: It can never be altered by municipal Statutes: No Cuſtoms can change, no poſitive Inſtitutions can abrogate, and no Time can efface this primary Law of Nature and Nations. The ſole End of Mens entring into political Societies, was mutual Protection and Defence; and whatever Power does not contribute to thoſe Purpoſes, is not Government, but Uſurpation.

Every Man in the State of Nature, had a Right to repel Injuries, and to revenge them; that is, he had a Right to puniſh the Authors of thoſe Injuries, and to prevent their being again committed; and this he might do, without declaring beforehand what Injuries he would puniſh. Seeing therefore, that this Right was inherent in every private Man, it is abſurd to ſuppoſe that National Legiſlatures, to whom every Man's private Power is committed, have not the ſame Right, and ought not to exerciſe it upon proper Occaſions.

Crimes being the Objects of Laws, there were Crimes before there were Laws to puniſh them;

them; and yet from the Beginning they deſerved to be puniſhed by the Perſon affected by them, or by the Society, and Number of Men united with him for common Security, tho' without the Sentence of a common Judge, (called by us the Magiſtrate) formally appointed to condemn Offenders.

Laws, for the moſt part, do not make Crimes, but ſuit and adapt Puniſhments to ſuch Actions as all Mankind knew to be Crimes before: And tho' National Governments ſhould never enact any poſitive Laws, and never annex particular Penalties to known Offences; yet they would have a Right, and it would be their Duty, to puniſh thoſe Offences, according to their beſt Diſcretion; and much more ſo, if the Crimes committed are ſo great, that no human Wiſdom could foreſee that any Man could be wicked and deſperate enough to commit them.

Lawyers diſtinguiſh betwixt *Malum prohibitum* and *Malum in ſe*; that is, between Crimes that are ſo in their own Nature, and Crimes that owe their Pravity to a Diſobedience to poſitive Laws. Of the former Sort are all thoſe Actions, by which one Man hurts another in his Reputation, his Perſon, or his Fortune; and thoſe Actions are ſtill more heinous, if they injure, or are intended to injure the whole Society.

The latter Sort conſiſts of ſuch Crimes as reſult from what Legiſlatures enact for the particular Benefit of private Societies; as Laws concerning the Regularity of Trade, the Manner of chooſing Magiſtrates, Local Orders, and from ſuch poſitive Inſtitutions, as receive their Force

Force alone from the Powers that enact them. Now those Crimes were not so before they were declared so; and consequently, no Man was before under any Obligation to avoid them.

It would be very severe and unjust to punish any Man for an undesign'd Transgression of the latter Sort; that is, for such Actions as he thought he might lawfully and honestly do, and which he had never Notice given him not to do. But to infer from thence, that a Villain may despise all the Laws of God and Nature, ruin Thousands of his Fellow-Subjects, and overturn Nations with Impunity, because such Villainy was too monstrous for human Foresight and Prevention, is something so absurd, that I am asham'd to confute it.

This is nothing less than asserting, that a Nation has not a Power within itself to save itself: That the Whole ought not to preserve the Whole: That particular Men have the Liberty to subvert the Government which protects them, and yet continue to be protected by that Government which they would destroy: That they may overturn all Law, and yet escape by not being within the express Words of any particular Law.

There are Crimes so monstrous and shocking, that wise States would not suffer them to stand in their Statute-Books; because they would not put such an Indignity upon human Nature, as to suppose it capable of committing them. They would not mention what they imagin'd would never be practised. The Old *Romans*, therefore, had no Law against *Parricide*; and

yet

yet there was no want of Puniſhment for *Parricides* from the Want of Law: Thoſe black and enormous Criminals were ſewed up in a Sack, and thrown into the *Tyber*.

In *Holland*, there was no Law againſt Mens Breaking fraudulently; and yet the firſt Man who was known to do ſo, was immediately executed, and his Eſtate divided among his Creditors.

In *England*, 'tis ſaid, there was no Law, till lately, againſt the burning of Ships; and yet, if any Man had burn'd the Royal Navy of *England*, lying at Anchor, ought not his Crime, which it ſeems was not Felony, to have been declared High-Treaſon?

Many Nations have had particular Officers appointed on purpoſe to puniſh uncommon Crimes, which were not within the Reach of ordinary Juſtice. The *Romans* had a *Dictator*; a great and extraordinary Magiſtrate, veſted with an extraordinary Power, as he was created on extraordinary Exigences; and his Commiſſion was limited only by the Publick Good, and conſiſted in a very ſhort Direction, *Nequid detrimenti Reſpublica capiat*; in *Engliſh*, *to ſave the State*.

This powerful Officer was once created on purpoſe to put to Death *Spurius Mælius*, for giving *gratis* to the People a large Quantity of Corn, in a Time of Famine. This Liberality of his was conſtrued by the Senate, an ambitious Bribe to catch the Hearts of the Multitude, in order to ſeize their Liberties —— *Spurius Mælius —— prædives, rem utilem peſſimo exemplo, pejore conſilio eſt aggreſſus*: He undertook

dertook a publick and plauſible Thing, but of ill Example, and with a worſe Deſign. *Largitiones frumenti facere inſtituit.* His avow'd Pretence was to relieve the Poor; *Plebemq; hoc munere delinitam, quacunq; incederet conſpectus elatuſq; ſupra modum hominis privati, ſecum trahere:* He cajol'd the People, intending to enſlave them; and growing too powerful for a Subject, became terrible to the common Liberty, which is ſupported by Equality. *Ipſe, ut eſt humanus animus inſatiabilis eo quod fortuna ſpondet, ad: altiora & non conceſſa tendere:* The Mind of Man is reſtleſs, and cannot ſtand ſtill, nor ſet Bounds to its Purſuits. It is not to be expected that one of our Million Men, (and they ſay we have ſeveral) will ſit down and be content with his Millions, though he were allowed to keep them, (which God forbid!) He will be making new Puſhes for new Acquiſitions, having ſuch ample Means in his Hands. *Spurius Mælius* would at firſt have been content with the Conſulate, or chief Magiſtracy in ordinary; but becauſe he found that even that could not be got without Force, he thought the ſame Force would as well carry him up higher, and make him King —— *Et quoniam Conſulatus quoq; eripiendus invitis patribus eſſet, de Regno agitare.* The Traytor had been ſuffered to carry a great Point, he had abuſed the Publick, and deceived the People. The Senate, therefore, take him to task, and there being no Law ſubſiſting, by which he could be put to Death —— *Conſules legibus conſtricti, nequaquam* tantum virium *in Magiſtratu ad eam rem pro* atrocitate *vindicandam quantum animi haberent;*

haberent; They therefore create a Dictator, an Officer with Power, for a Time, to ſuſpend Laws, and make Laws. The Occaſion was great —— *Opus eſſe non forti ſolum viro*, ſed etiam *LIBERO, EXSOLUTOQUE LEGUM VINCULIS. L. Quincius Cincinnatus* was the Man, a true and brave old *Republican*, who worthily and boldly did his Work, and by the Hands of his Maſter of the Horſe, ſlew the mighty Traytor, impudently imploring the publick Faith, to which he was a ſworn Enemy; and complaining of the Power of Oppreſſion, when the ſhameleſs Villain had been only ſeeking a Power to oppreſs. *Fidem plebis Romanæ implorare*; & opprimi ſe *CONSENSU PATRUM DICERE.* He knew his Villainies were out of the Reach of the Law, and he did not dream of an extraordinary Method of puniſhing them by the *Roman* Parliament. But he was deceived: And, the Dictator tells the People, that being a ſort of an Outlaw, he was not to be proceeded with as with a Citizen of *Rome*: *Nec cum eo tanquam cum* Cive *agendum fuiſſe.* An unuſual Death was due to his monſtrous Wickedneſs: *Non pro ſcelere id magis, quam pro* monſtro *habendum.* Nor was his Blood alone, ſays the wiſe Dictator, ſufficient to expiate his Guilt, unleſs we alſo pull down his Houſe, where ſuch crying Crimes were firſt conceiv'd; and confiſcate to the publick Uſe his Eſtate and his Treaſures, the Price and Means of the publick Ruin. —— And his Eſtate was accordingly given to the Publick —— *Nec ſatis eſſe ſanguine ejus expiatum, niſi tecta parietesq; inter quæ tantum amentiæ conceptum eſſet, diſſipurentur; bonaq;*

contacta

contacta pretiis Regni mercandi publicarentur: *Jubere itaq; Quæſtores, vendere ea bona & in publicum redigere:* The Treaſury had them for the Uſe of the Publick.

Thus did the Great, the Wiſe, and the Free *Romans* puniſh this extraordinary Knave, by a Power that was not ordinary. They likewiſe exerted it upon other Occaſions; nor were they the only People that did ſo.

The *Athenians*, grown jealous by having loſt their Liberties, by the Uſurpation of a private but too powerful Citizen, durſt never truſt this great Power to any ſingle Magiſtrate, or even to a Council. They would not however part with it, but reſerved it to the whole Body of the People, agreeably to the Nature of a popular Government. In this jealous State, it was a Crime to be popular, much more to affect Popularity: They would not allow a Man to have it in his Power to enſlave his Country. And, indeed, it is Wiſdom in a State, and a Sign that they judge well, to ſuppoſe that all Men, who can enſlave them, will enſlave them. Generoſity, Self-denial, and private and perſonal Virtues, are in Politicks but mere Names, or rather Cant Words, that go for nothing with wiſe Men, tho' they may cheat the Vulgar. The *Athenians* knew this; and therefore appointed a Method of puniſhing great Men, tho' they could prove no other Crime againſt them but that of being great Men. This Puniſhment was called the Oſtraciſm, or the Sentence of a Majority, in a Ballot by Oyſter-ſhells; by which a ſuſpected Citizen was adjudged to Baniſhment for Ten Years. They would not truſt

to the Virtue and Moderation of any private Subject, capable by being great, to be miſchievous; but would rather hurt a private Subject, than endanger the publick Liberty. Worthy Men are thought to have ſuffered unjuſtly by this Oſtraciſm; and it may be true, for ought I know; but ſtill it ſecured the Publick, and long ſecured it. Weak and babbling Men, who penetrate no deeper than Words, may blame this politick Severity in the Commonwealth of *Athens*; but it is juſtified, in that it was politick.

In *Venice*, a wiſe, ancient, and honourable Republick, there is a Council of Ten, which exerciſes this extraordinary Power: Every arbitrary Prince in the World exerciſes it; and every free State in the World has an undoubted Right to exerciſe it, tho' they have never delegated their Power to particular Magiſtrates to exerciſe it for them.

In *England*, indeed, we have not delegated this Power at all; becauſe we very well know who muſt have had it, and what Uſe would be made of it. The Legiſlature, therefore, has reſerved this Power to itſelf, and has an undoubted Right to exerciſe it; and has often done ſo upon extraordinary Occaſions. It ought indeed to be exerciſed but upon extraordinary Occaſions. *Jove*'s Thunderbolts were only launch'd againſt ſuch as provok'd the Thunderbolts of *Jove*.

I ſhall, in my next Letter to you, apply theſe general Maxims of Government to our own particular Conſtitution, and to the preſent Occaſion, which calls aloud for *Jove*'s Help and Thunder.

I am, &c.

SIR,

TREASON, properly ſo called, in *Latin Crimen læſæ Majeſtatis*, is in all Countries the ſame: It is an Endeavour to ſubvert, or to do ſome notable Miſchief to the Publick; of which every Man is a Part, and with which he has joined himſelf for mutual Defence, under what Form ſoever the Adminiſtration is exerciſed. I own, leſſer Crimes are ſometimes called by the ſame Name, and ſubjected to the ſame Puniſhment.

An Attempt to deſtroy the chief Magiſtrate of a Commonwealth, or the General of an Army in the Field, or the Governour of a Town during a Siege, are certainly Treaſons every where; becauſe in ſuch Attempts, when they ſucceed, is often involved the Ruin of States. They alſo are doubtleſs guilty of High Treaſon, who, being entruſted with the Wealth, Security, and Happineſs of Kingdoms, do yet knowingly pervert that Truſt, to the undoing of that People whom they are obliged by undeſerved Rewards, as well as by all the Ties of Religion, Juſtice, Honour, and Gratitude, to defend and protect.

'Tis the ſame if any Number of Men, tho' in a leſſer Truſt, or in no Truſt at all, ſhould deliberately and knowingly deſtroy Thouſands of their Fellow-Subjects, and overturn the Trade and publick Credit of the Nation, to enrich themſelves and their Accomplices.

Theſe, and Crimes of the like Nature, are Treaſons from the Nature of Things themſelves, antecedent to all Laws that call them ſo; and will be Treaſons, though Laws gained by Subornation ſhould call them otherwiſe: And every State has a Right to treat thoſe who commit them, as Traytors and Parricides. In truth, there are as many of theſe Kinds of Treaſons, as there are different Methods of conſpiring againſt Kingdoms; and the Criminals, though ever ſo Great, deſerve Death and Confiſcation; that is, they ought to be deſtroyed by the People whom they would deſtroy.

The great Principle of Self-preſervation, which is the firſt and fundamental Law of Nature, calls for this Proceedure: The Security of Commonwealths depends upon it; the very Being of Government makes it neceſſary; and whatever is neceſſary to the Publick Safety, is juſt.

The Fate of Millions, and the Being of States, muſt not ſtand and fall by the Diſtinctions of Monks, coined in Colleges, or by the Chicane of Petty-Foggers; who would bring every Thing within the narrow Verge of their own Knowledge, and under their own Juriſdiction and Cognizance; and would determine all Things by the Rules of inferior Judicatures, the Gibberiſh of private Practiſers, and the Sayings of Old Women, or of thoſe who are like Old Women; whoſe Brains are addled by being long jumbled, and always turned round within the ſcanty Circle of private Courts, not daring to venture at a bold and free

free Thought out of them, however ſelf-evident; like ſome Carriers Horſes, that are uſed to a Track, and know not how to travel in an open Road.

But Queſtions of this Kind belong *ad aliud examen*, and ought to be brought before an higher Tribunal: The Legiſlature are the only proper and ſafe Judges; what is done againſt All, ſhould be judged by All. Nor are their Reſolutions to be confined by any other Rule than *quid eſt utile, quid honeſtum*, general Juſtice, and the general Good. Religion, Vertue, common Senſe, and the Publick Peace and Felicity, are the only Council to be admitted either for the Publick or the Priſoners.

The Conſpirators againſt Mankind ought to know, that no Subterfuges, or Tergiverſations; no knaviſh Subtilties, or pedantick Quirks of Lawyers; no Evaſions, no Skulkings behind known Statutes; no Combinations, or pretended Commiſſions, ſhall be able to skreen or protect them from publick Juſtice. They ought to know, that there is a Power in being, that can follow them through all their dark Labyrinths and doubling Meanders; a Power, that can cruſh them to Pieces, though they change into all the Shapes of *Proteus*, to avoid the Fury of *Hercules*; a Power, confined by no Limitation, but that of Publick Juſtice and the Publick Good; a Power, that does not follow Precedents, but makes them; a Power, which has this for its Principle, that extraordinary Crimes ought not to be tried by ordinary Rules, and that unprecedented

Villainies ought to have unprecedented Punishments.

But tho' in all Governments, this great Power must exist somewhere, yet it can rarely be delegated with Prudence to inferior Magistrates; who, out of Ambition, Revenge, or Faction, or for Bribes and Preferments, or out of Fear or Flattery, or in concert with the ill Measures and selfish Intrigues of Statesmen, may pervert so dangerous a Trust to the Destruction of those whom it was intended to preserve.

This particularly has been the Case of *England*: We know by what Means Judges were often made, and from what Conduct they expected farther Preferment, and from whom they looked for Protection: For this Reason, they were and ought to be confined in their Jurisdiction relating to Treason, and the Manner of trying it.

Undoubtedly every Intention manifested by Act to destroy the Constitution and Government, was Treason by the common Law of *England*.———But why do I say of *England*, since it is and ever was, Treason in every Country throughout the World? This Treason equally extends to those, who would subvert either House of Parliament, or the Rights and Privileges of the People, as to those who attempted to destroy the Person of the King, or to dethrone him. And indeed, what can be more absurd, than to suppose it to be the highest Crime to attempt to destroy one Man, for no other Reason but that he is King; and yet not to suppose it the highest Crime

to

to deſtroy that People, for whoſe Benefit alone he was made King, and for whoſe Sake indeed there ever was ſuch a thing as a King in the World.

But tho' this Propoſition was ſelf evident, and muſt ever be aſſented to as ſoon as mentioned, yet by the Flattery of Prieſts and ſervile Lawyers, the *Salus Populi*, or Security of the State, ſoon came to ſignify only the unbounded Power and Sovereignty of the Prince; and it became Treaſon to hinder One, conſtituted, and grandly maintained out of the People's Labour and Wealth, for the Publick Safety, from deſtroying the Publick Safety. Our Anceſtors found, by lamentable Experience, that unworthy Men, preferred by corrupt Miniſters for unworthy Ends, made Treaſons free only of the Court; that the leaſt Attempt to oppoſe unlimited and unlawful Authority, was often called Treaſon; and that the higheſt Treaſons of all, which were thoſe againſt the Commonwealth, might be committed with Impunity, Applauſe and Rewards.

It was therefore high time to apply an adequate Remedy to an enormous Miſchief, which ſtruck at the whole State, and at the Fortunes and Lives of every Subject in *England*. The Statute therefore of the 25th of *Edward* III. was enacted, which enumerates the ſeveral Species or Kinds of Treaſons, which ſhall continue to be eſteemed Treaſons, and be adjudged ſo by the King's Juſtices; and are chiefly thoſe which relate to the King's Perſon, his Family, and Dignity: Theſe the Parliament thought they might ſafely truſt to the Ex-

amination of the King's Judges, under ſuch Limitations and Regulations as the Act preſents.

But it is plain from the ſame Act, that they did not intend to confine all Treaſons to thoſe recited there, becauſe it is declared in the following Words, *viz. If any other Caſe, ſuppoſed Treaſon, not before ſpecified, ſhall happen before any Juſtices, they ſhall ſtay Judgment, till the Cauſe be ſhewed before the Parliament, whether it ought to be judged Treaſon or not.*

So that here is a plain Declaration of the Legiſlature (if any Man can poſſibly think ſuch a Declaration wanting) that other Crimes were Treaſon, and ought to be puniſhed as Treaſon, (though not by the King's Judges) beſides thoſe recited in the Act; which were, as has been ſaid, deſigned only to extend to Treaſons which were committed againſt our Lord the King, and his Royal Majeſty, as the Act expreſly ſays. And 'tis evident from the whole Tenor of it, that it was intended purely to reſtrain the unlimited and exorbitant Juriſdiction, aſſumed by the King's Courts, in declaring Treaſons, and ſacrificing by that Means whom they pleaſed to unlawful Power.

But as to the higheſt and moſt heinous Treaſons of all; ſuch as were Treaſons againſt the Legiſlature, and againſt the whole Body of the People, for whoſe Safety alone there were any Treaſons againſt the King at all, ſeeing that their Safety was, in a great Meaſure, included in his; the Parliament reſerved

ſerved the Judgment of every ſuch Treaſon to themſelves: They did not alter what was Treaſon, but the Judges of it. They knew that Treaſons againſt the Conſtitution could ſeldom be committed, but by Miniſters and Favourites of Princes, protected by Power, and ſheltered by Authority; and that therefore it would be abſurd to truſt the Puniſhment of ſuch potent Knaves, and criminal Favourites, to Judges made by themſelves; Judges, who would neither have Inclination, Figure, or Character, to reach Crimes countenanced and perhaps authorized by a *Richard* II. or an *Edward* II.

Such Crimes, therefore, were the proper Objects of the awful Power of a Legiſlature; who will always be ſupported by the People whom they repreſent, when they exert themſelves for the Intereſt of that People. A Power, ſo ſupported, can make the loftieſt Traytor quake. It can fetch corrupt Miniſters out of their dark Receſſes, and make their Heads a Victim to publick Vengeance. Every wiſe and good King will lend a willing Ear to their dutiful Remonſtrances; he will hearken to the importunate Cries of his People, and readily deliver up the Authors of their Miſery.

One great Part of their Care, therefore, has ever been to call thoſe to Account, who have abuſed the Favour of their Royal Maſter, and endeavoured to make him little and contemptible to his People; weakening by ſuch Means his Authority, and hazarding his Perſon. This, the People, whom they re-

presented, thought they had a Right to expect and demand from them; and this Justice they have often done to their King and Country.

An excellent *Discourse concerning Treasons and Bills of Attainder*, was published soon after his Majesty's Accession to the Crown; and shewed unanswerably, that our Parliaments, in almost every Reign since the Conquest, claimed and exercised this Right, upon extraordinary Occasions; and none ever, till lately, opposed it, but the Criminals who were to suffer by it, and their Party: Some Gentlemen now living can give the best Account why that Book, and the Cries of every honest Man, had not their desired Effect. I hope no Man will be deluded again by any practising the same Arts, and for the same Reasons too.

The Length of this Letter will not allow me to draw from all these Reasonings upon Treason, such Applications as I promised in my last, and intended in this. I shall therefore defer these Applications to another, and perhaps more proper Occasion. In the mean while, I observe with Pleasure the noble Spirit shewn by our Legislature, to punish, with an exemplary Severity, the Murtherers of our Credit, and the publick Enemies of our Liberty and Prosperity. This revives every drooping Heart, and kindles Joy in every Face, in spight of all our Miseries. And this brings Terror, Trembling and Paleness upon the Guilty, to see Death and Destruction pursuing them close, and besetting them hard on every

side.

Side. They are in the Circumſtances and the Agonies of the guilty *Cain*, who juſtly feared that every Man he met would kill him, tho' there was no Law then in being againſt Murther.

I am, &c.

SIR,

IN ſurveying the State of the World, one is often at a great loſs, whether to aſcribe the political Miſery of Mankind to their own Folly and Credulity, or to the Knavery and Impudence of their pretended Managers. Both theſe Cauſes do, in all Appearance, concur to produce the ſame Evil; and if there were no Bubbles, there would be no Sharpers.

There muſt certainly be a vaſt Fund of Stupidity in Humane Nature, elſe Men would not be caught as they are, a Thouſand Times over, by the ſame Snare; and while they yet remember their paſt Misfortunes, go on to court and encourage the Cauſes to which they were owing, and which will again produce them.

I will own, however, that Government makes more Fools, and more wiſe Men, than Nature makes; and the Difference between Nation and Nation, in Point of Virtue, Sagacity and Arms, ariſes not from the different Genius of the People; which, making very

ſmall

ſmall Allowances for the Difference of Climate, would be the ſame under the ſame Regulations; but from the different Genius of their Political Conſtitutions: The one perhaps making common Senſe dangerous, and Enquiries criminal, cowing the Spirits of Men, and rebuking the Sallies of Virtue; while the other, at the ſame time, encourages the Improvement of the Underſtanding, and rewards the Diſcovery of Truth, and cultivates, as a Vertue, the Love of Liberty and of one's Country.

And yet even in Countries where the higheſt Liberty is allowed, and the greateſt Light ſhines, you generally find certain Men and Bodies of Men ſet apart to miſlead the Multitude; who are ever abus'd with Words, and ever fond of the worſt of Things recommended by good Names; and who ever abhor the beſt Things, and the moſt virtuous Actions, diſfigured by ill Names. One of the great Arts, therefore, of cheating Men, is to ſtudy the Application and Miſapplication of Sounds.—— A few loud Words rule the Majority, I had almoſt ſaid, the World.

Thus we have heard from our Fathers, and ſeen in our own Days, that contemptible Inſects, born in Poverty, and educated by Charity, being often, from cleaning their Maſter's Shoes, preferred unexpectedly and undeſervedly to Offices and Preferments in the Church, have had the Front to call themſelves the Church it ſelf, and every one its Enemy, who deſpiſed their Meanneſs, expoſed their reverend Knavery, and laughed at their Grimace.

And

And thus we have been told of the Times, and ſome Men now living do remember to have ſeen them, when unworthy Men, who by Faction and Treachery, by mean Compliances with Power, or by inſolently daring of Authority, having raiſed themſelves to Wealth and Honours, and to the Power of betraying ſome conſiderable Truſt, have had the provoking Saweineſs to call themſelves the Government, and their own Rogueries his then Majeſty's Meaſures; and the next Thing was to pronounce all thoſe Enemies to his then Majeſty, who would endeavour to reſcue their abuſed King and ſinking Country, out of their devouring and polluted Claws.

In King *Charles* I's Time, the great Earl of *Strafford*, and little Archbiſhop *Laud*, told the Nation, that his Majeſty's Meaſures were the governing without Parliaments, a Power without Reſerve in the State, a flaming Popiſh Hierarchy in the Church, abſolute and abject Submiſſion in the People, and a Barbarian Army of *Iriſh* Papiſts to ſupport and inſure all theſe worthy Meaſures. But the untimely Death of one of theſe Offenders, and the Impriſonment of the other, broke all thoſe fine Meaſures.

In the Reign of *Charles* II. Penſionary Parliaments, a general Depravation of Manners, Guards increaſed into Armies, and Popiſh Religion and a Popiſh Succeſſor, Popiſh Leagues, and Proteſtant Wars, were called by wicked Men his Majeſty's Meaſures; and all honeſt Men and good Subjects were called his Majeſty's Enemies: And, when that Prince ſaw that

that theſe Meaſures of his Miniſtry created endleſs Jealouſies to his People, and endleſs Uneaſineſs to himſelf, and he reſolved to take other Meaſures of his own, it is thought they put a ſhort End to all his Meaſures.

When King *James* came to the Crown, tho' ſetting Bigotry apart, he had many Royal Virtues, being a Prince of Induſtry and good Oeconomy; yet he ſuffer'd himſelf to be governed by a Sett of Sycophants, many of them as fooliſh as they were miſchievous. The Eſtabliſhment of bare-faced *Romiſh* Popery in the Church, and a lawleſs Tyranny in the Prince, became then his Majeſty's Meaſures; and the Miniſters, who adviſed and promoted them, call'd themſelves the *Government*; and whoever oppoſed his Reaſon, his Honeſty, and his publick Spirit, againſt thoſe Traytors to the Publick, was charged with flying in the Face of the Government, and oppoſing his Majeſty's Meaſures. In what theſe Meaſures ended, is well known. They coſt his Majeſty his Kingdoms, and made him an honourable Beggar in *France* all his Life, for his daily Bread.

King *William*, when he came to the Crown, brought with him the Hearts, and Hands, and the good Wiſhes of every honeſt Man in *England*: and was ſupported by theſe Men through a tedious and expenſive War, unknown to our Anceſtors; which, when he had finiſhed, and the exhauſted People expected ſome Relaxations from their Sufferings, they were given to know by ſome Court Paraſites, that his Majeſty's Meaſures was a Standing Army in Time of Peace, under the Inſpection of Parliaments.

This

This unexpected Spirit in the Court, gave such Jealousy to those who were best affected to his Majesty's Person and Government, that with Grief I call to Mind the Difficulties and Anxieties which that great Prince felt ever afterwards to the End of his Reign.

As to Queen *Anne*, I shall say no more, than that it is shrewdly suspected, that what her Majesty's Ministry had the Insolence to call *Her Majesty's Measures*, broke her Majesty's Heart.

Let Mankind therefore learn Experience from so many Misfortunes, and bear no longer to hear the worst Things called by the best Names; nor suffer hereafter the brightest and most conspicuous Virtues of the wisest and most beneficent Princes, to be sullied by Actions which they do not countenance, nor even know of. Let them not permit the Vices of the worst of Servants, to be laid at the Door of the best of Masters.

We, in this Land, are very sure that we are blessed with the best King in the World, who desires of his People nothing but their own Greatness and Felicity: A Prince, ready to prevent their Wishes, and to give them more than their Duty ought to suffer them to ask. Let us shew our Duty to this our great and benevolent Sovereign; let us endeavour to alleviate his Cares, and ease him of all ungrateful Burthens; let us take upon ourselves the heavy Labour of cleansing the *Augean* Stables, and of cutting off all the *Hydra*'s Heads at once.

The Law tells us, that the King can do no wrong: And I thank God, we have a King that

that would not, if he could. But the greateſt Servants to Princes may do wrong, and often have done it; and the Repreſentatives of the People have an undoubted Right to call them to an Account for it.

In Truth, every private Subject has a Right to watch the Steps of thoſe who would betray their Country; nor is he to take their Word about the Motives of their Deſigns, but to judge of their Deſigns by the Event.

This is the Principle of a *Whig*, this the Doctrine of Liberty; and 'tis as much Knavery to deny this Doctrine, as it is Folly to ridicule it. Some will tell us, that this is ſetting up the Mob for Stateſmen, and for the Cenſurers of States. The Word *Mob* does not at all move me, on this Occaſion, nor weaken the Grounds I go upon. It is certain, that the whole People, who are the Publick, are the beſt Judges whether Things go ill or well with the Publick. It is true, they cannot all of them ſee diſtant Dangers, nor watch the Motions, and gueſs the Deſigns of neighbouring States: But every Cobler can judge as well as a Stateſman, whether he can ſit peaceably in his Stall; whether he is paid for his Work; whether the Market, where he buys his Victuals, is well provided; and whether a Dragoon, or a Pariſh-Officer, comes to him for his Taxes; if he pays any.

Every Man too, even the meaneſt, can ſee, in a publick and ſudden Tranſition from Plenty to Poverty, and from Happineſs to Diſtreſs, whether the Calamity comes from War and Famine, and the Hand of God; or from Oppreſſion, and Miſmanagements, and the Villainis

nies of Men. In ſhort, the People often judge better than their Superiors, and have not ſo many Biaſſes to judge wrong; and Politicians often rail at the People, chiefly becauſe they have given the People occaſion to rail: Thoſe Miniſters who cannot make the People their Friends, it is to be ſhrewdly ſuſpected, do not deſerve their Friendſhip; it is certain, that much Honeſty, and ſmall Management, rarely miſs to gain it. As temporal Felicity is the whole End of Government; ſo People will always be pleaſed or provoked as that increaſes or abates. This Rule will always hold. You may judge of their Affection, or Diſaffection, by the Burthens they bear, and the Advantages they enjoy. Here then is a ſure Standard for the Government to judge of the People, and for the People to judge of the Government.

Bleſſed be God, and Thanks to our Sovereign, who has given us a Miniſtry that makes all theſe Cautions unneceſſary; who will baffle all Calumny, and remove all Suſpicion of Guilt from themſelves, (if any ſuch Suſpicion can be) by being Foremoſt to purſue the Guilty; and will doubtleſs take double Vengeance upon any in Publick Authority (if any ſuch can be found) who ſhall appear to have contributed to our publick Misfortunes; and in fine, will promote and encourage a rigorous and ſtrict Enquiry, wherever any Suſpicion is given that Enquiry ought to be made.

Such Conduct will diſperſe our Fears, reſtore our Credit, give Bread to our Poor, make Trade and Manufacture flouriſh again; and, in ſome Meaſure, compenſate for all our paſt Evils,

Evils, by giving us a lasting Prospect of future Plenty, Peace, and Felicity.

I am, &c.

SIR,

THE best, the wisest, and the most courageous of despotick Princes, have frequently lamented the unhappy Condition into which their Greatness betrayed them. Being often born in Purple, and educated in Pride and Luxury, they seldom can have any Feeling of the Calamities which the rest of the World suffer. They are, besides, surrounded, for the most Part, by the falsest, the most ambitious, and the basest of all Men; with such Mens Eyes they must therefore see, and with such Mens Ears they must likewise hear.

I cannot, in truth, see how, in the Nature of Things, it can be otherwise: For the mean Fawnings, the servile Flatteries, the deceitful Correspondences, the base Ingratitude to old Benefactors, and the slavish Compliances with new Friends, and all the other Arts and Treacheries, which are necessary to be put in Practice, in order to rise in such Courts, or indeed to become Heads of Parties even in free Governments, make it almost impossible for a truly great or virtuous Man to attain to those Stations.

A good Man will chuse to live in an innocent Obscurity, and enjoy the internal Satisfaction, resulting

reſulting from a juſt Senſe of his own Merit and Virtue, rather than aim at Greatneſs by a long Series of unworthy Arts and ignoble Actions; whilſt the ambitious, the cruel, the rapacious, the falſe, the proud, the treacherous Part of Mankind, will be ever thruſting themſelves forward, and endeavouring to ſparkle in Courts, as well as in the Eyes of the unthinking Crowd; and to make themſelves neceſſary, will be continually either flattering or diſtreſſing Princes.

Nor can it be expected that Men, who have been raiſed to Power by ſuch execrable Means, ſhould ever uſe it to the Benefit of Mankind, or to any good End. They will always proceed in the ſame Steps where they began; and uſe, for the Support of their Greatneſs, the ſame vile Meaſures by which they acquir'd their Greatneſs; till they have at length ſacrific'd all Things in Heaven and Earth to their Ambition.

There is a fine Paſſage, to this Purpoſe, in the ſhort Hiſtory of the Emperor *Aurelian* by *Vopiſcus*: *Et quæritur quidem quæ res malos principes faciat: Jam primum, Licentia, deinde Rerum Copia, Amici improbi, ſatellites deteſtandi, Eunuchi avariſſimi, aulici vel Stulti vel deteſtabiles, & (quod negari non poteſt) rerum publicarum Ignorantia. Sed ego a Patre meo audivi, Diocleſianum principem, jam privatum, dixiſſe, nihil eſſe difficilius quam bene imperare. Colligunt ſe quatuor vel quinque, atque unum Conſilium ad decipiendum principem capiunt: Dicunt quod probandum ſit. Imperator, qui domi clauſus eſt, vera non novit. Cogitur hoc tantum ſcire quod illis loquuntur: Facit*

Judices

Judices quos fieri non oportet; amovet à Republicâ quos debebat obtinere. Quid multa? Ut Dioclesianus ipse dicebat, Bonus Cautus, optimus venditur Imperator. Hiſtor. Auguſt. Scriptor, Tom. 2. p. 531, 532.

My Friends, ſays the great Emperor *Dioclesian*, to thoſe who adviſed him to reſume the Empire, *you little know how difficult an Undertaking it is to perform the Duty of a* Roman *Emperor, and to Reign well. The few who have Acceſs to him, will cabal and conſpire together, and unite in their Counſels to deceive and betray him. They will ſtudy how to flatter him, and never tell him what it is their Duty to tell him, and what is his Intereſt to know; but only what they think will beſt pleaſe him. They will ſhut him up, and as it were, impriſon him in his Palace; and no one ſhall be admitted to his Ear, but by their Leave, and in their Preſence; ſo that he ſhall never know the Condition of his Affairs, or be informed of the Cries of his People, or indeed of any thing but what they think fit to tell him. By their Means he ſhall prefer undeſerving Men to the beſt Poſts of the Empire, and diſgrace the moſt worthy of his Subjects, and the moſt devoted to his Intereſt. But why, Gentlemen, ſhould I labour this Point any more, when even the good, the moſt diſcerning, and the beſt and ableſt Emperors are bought and ſold?*

But *Dioclesian* was an arbitrary Prince, whoſe Will was a Law to his Subjects. But it is far otherwiſe in limited Monarchies, where the Prince governs his People by fix'd Rules and known Statutes; and where his faithful States have a Right to repreſent freely, tho' humbly, to him their Grievances, and by his Authority

to

to call to Account, and puniſh, ſuch Betrayers as are before deſcribed.

Happy therefore is that Prince, happy in the Love of his Subjects, happy in the juſt Applauſe and dutiful Acknowledgment of Millions of his Fellow Creatures, who derive their Felicity from him! Thrice happy is that People, where the Conſtitution is ſo poiſed and tempered, and the Adminiſtration ſo diſpoſed and divided into proper Channels, that the Paſſions and Infirmities of the Prince, cannot enter into the Meaſures of his Government; where he has in his Power all the Means of doing good, and none of doing ill; where all beneficent and gracious Actions are owned to flow from his Clemency and Goodneſs, and where inferiour Machines are anſwerable for all ſuch Conduct as may prejudice the Publick.

Such a Government does, in ſome Senſe, reſemble that of Heaven it ſelf, where the Sovereign Diſpoſer of all Things can neither will, nor do any Thing but what is juſt and good; he is reſtrained, by the Excellency of his own Nature, from being the Author of Evil; and will call to a ſevere Account, all thoſe who would impute their own Unrighteouſneſs to his Orders or Influence.

Such is the Monarchy of *England*, where the Sovereign performs every Act of his Regal Office by his Authority, without the Fatigue and Anxiety of executing the troubleſome Parts of it, in his Perſon. The Laws are choſen and recommended to him by his Parliament, and afterwards executed by his Judges, and other Miniſters of Juſtice: His Great Seal is kept by his

his Chancellor: His Naval Power is under the Direction of his High Admiral: And all Acts of State and Discretion are presumed to be done by the Advice of his Council. All which Officers are answerable for their Misbehaviour, and for all Actions done within their several Provinces, which they have advised, or could have prevented by giving their Advice, or by making timely and humble Remonstrances; which they are obliged to shew they have done.

His Leagues, his Commands, and even his authentick Speeches, are Records. His High Office consists in approving Laws, chosen by common Consent; in executing those Laws, and in being the publick Guardian of the publick Safety: And all private Orders, which are inconsistent with these great Duties, are not the Orders of the Crown; nor are the Actions done in pursuance of them, the Actions of the King, but the Actions of those that do them. He can do no Wrong himself, nor give Authority to any one else to do Wrong. Every Act of his must be lawful, because all unlawful Acts are not his. He can give no Commands, as a Man, which shall interfere with those he gives as a King. His private Will cannot controul his publick Will. He commands, as a King, his Chancellor, and Judges, to act according to his known Laws; and no private Order to do otherwise, can be valid.

The Nation has ever acted upon these Maxims, and preserved such a dutiful Respect to the Royal Majesty, as never to suffer any Guilt to be laid to him; but has always heaped

double

double Vengeance upon ſuch Miſcreants, as would inſinuate that their Crimes were approved or countenanced by their Royal Maſter.

Here is all the Precaution which can be taken by humane Wiſdom, to make a happy Prince and a happy People. The Prince is reſtrained in nothing, but from doing Miſchief to his Subjects, and conſequently to himſelf; their true Intereſt being ever the ſame: And the People can never have any Motive to refuſe juſt Allegiance to their Prince, whilſt the Ligaments of the Conſtitution are preſerved entire; that is, whilſt Parliaments are ſuffered to meet, and the Courts of Juſtice remain open, and ſuch Force is not uſed againſt them as diſſolves all Relation. All the Subjects of ſuch a Prince highly honour, and almoſt worſhip him. He has a vaſt Revenue to ſupport the Splendor and Magnificence of his Court at Home, and his Royal Dignity Abroad; He has the Power of diſpoſing of all Offices: All Honours flow from him: His Perſon is ſacred, and not anſwerable for any Events: He cannot be accountable for any Wrong, which he is incapable of doing; and thoſe who do it, ſhall be puniſhed by his Authority, even though it be ſuppoſed poſſible that they could, by falſe Miſrepreſentations, deceive him far enough to approve it.

The Examples of *Richard* the Second, who, as our Hiſtories tell us, was depoſed by the States of his Kingdom, and of the late King *James*, are no Inſtances to diſapprove the Truth of this Aſſertion: For, neither of them was depoſed by his People before he firſt depoſed himſelf.

himſelf. No Champions for Tyranny, or Dogmatizers for unlimited Dominion, have yet aſſerted, that a Prince may not reſign his Crown by the Conſent of his People, when he declines to hold it any longer upon the Conditions he firſt accepted it.

Suppoſe a Prince, in any limited Monarchy, ſhould make a publick Declaration to the States of his Kingdom, that "Whereas the Crown "deſcended to him by the Laws of that Coun-"try, and that all the Power he was poſſeſſed "of was conferred upon him by thoſe Laws; "That he well knew that the Preſervation of "thoſe Laws, which he had ſworn to obſerve, "and the general Good of his People, were "the ſole Conſiderations of his enjoying that "high Dignity; and yet, notwithſtanding, he "refuſed to hold it any longer, upon the Terms "he had at firſt accepted it, and ſworn to ob-"ſerve; but that he now renounced that Title, "and would govern them hereafter by his ſole "Will and Pleaſure:" I ſay, if any ſhould do this, the Advocates for lawleſs Power would do well to tell us, whether ſuch a Prince did not make as effectual a Renunciation and Reſignation of his Government, as if he diſabled himſelf, and reſign'd it for his Eaſe, or from Satiety of Power. And if they allow that he may do all this by Words ſpoken to expreſs his Intentions; I ſhould be glad to know, from theſe Men of Diſtinctions, why he may not do it by a Series of Actions, which will more effectually diſcover and declare his inward Intentions, and may therefore be more depended on than any Words can poſſibly be?

I call

I call upon the Two famous Universities of this Land for an Answer; And, till I have a full one, shall continue to believe, that what was done, in regard to the Abdication of the late King *James*, was just and necessary to be done upon the fundamental Principles of Government; and, that all his Successors since have been rightful and lawful Kings and Queens of this Realm; and I particularly glory to say, that no Prince has ever better deserved that high Title, than our present great and glorious Sovereign, King *George*.

I am, &c.

SIR,

WITHOUT Freedom of Thought there can be no such Thing as Wisdom; and no such Thing as publick Liberty, without Freedom of Speech; which is the Right of every Man, as far as by it he does not hurt or controul the Right of another. And this is the only Check it ought to suffer, and the only Bounds it ought to know.

This sacred Privilege is so essential to free Governments, that the Security of Property and the Freedom of Speech always go together; and in those wretched Countries where a Man cannot call his Tongue his own, he can scarce call any Thing else his own. Whoever would overthrow the Liberty of a Nation, must be-

gin by ſubduing the Freeneſs of Speech; a Thing terrible to publick Traytors.

This Secret was ſo well known to the Court of King *Charles* the Firſt, that his wicked Miniſtry procured a Proclamation, to forbid the People to talk of Parliaments, which theſe Traytors had laid aſide. To aſſert the undoubted Right of the Subject, and defend his Majeſty's legal Prerogative, was called Diſaffection, and puniſhed as Sedition. Nay, People were forbid to talk of Religion in their Families: For, the Prieſts had combined with the Miniſters to cook up Tyranny, and ſuppreſs Truth and the Law. While the late King *James*, when Duke of *York*, went avowedly to Maſs, Men were fined, impriſoned, and undone, for ſaying he was a Papiſt: And that King *Charles* the Second might live more ſecurely a Papiſt, there was an Act of Parliament made, declaring it Treaſon to ſay that he was one.

That Men ought to ſpeak well of their Governours, is true, while their Governours deſerve to be well ſpoken of; but to do publick Miſchief, without hearing of it, is only the Prerogative and Felicity of Tyranny: A free People will be ſhewing that they are ſo, by their Freedom of Speech.

The Adminiſtration of Government, is nothing elſe but the Attendance of the Truſtees of the People upon the Intereſt and Affairs of the People: And as it is the Part and Buſineſs of the People, for whoſe Sake alone all publick Matters are or ought to be tranſacted, to ſee whether they be well or ill tranſacted; ſo it is the

the Intereſt, and ought to be the Ambition, of all honeſt Magiſtrates, to have their Deeds openly examined, and publickly ſcann'd: Only the wicked Governours of Men dread what is ſaid of them; *Audivit* Tiberius *probra queis lacerabitur, atque* perculſus eſt. The publick Cenſure was true, elſe he had not felt it bitter.

Freedom of Speech is ever the Symptom, as well as the Effect, of good Government. In old *Rome*, all was left to the Judgment and Pleaſure of the People, who examined the publick Proceedings with ſuch Diſcretion, and cenſured thoſe who adminiſtred them with ſuch Equity and Mildneſs, that in the Space of Three Hundred Years, not Five publick Miniſters ſuffered unjuſtly. Indeed, whenever the Commons proceeded to Violence, the Great Ones had been the Aggreſſors.

Guilt only dreads Liberty of Speech, which drags it out of its lurking Holes, and expoſes its Deformity and Horror to Day-light. *Horatius*, *Valerius*, *Cincinnatus*, and other virtuous and undeſigning Magiſtrates of the *Roman* Commonwealth, had nothing to fear from Liberty of Speech. Their virtuous Adminiſtration, the more it was examin'd, the more it brighten'd and gain'd by Enquiry. When *Valerius*, in particular, was accuſed upon ſome ſlight Grounds of affecting the Diadem; he, who was the firſt Miniſter of *Rome*, does not accuſe the People for examining his Conduct, but approv'd his Innocence in a Speech to them; and gave ſuch Satisfaction to them, and gain'd ſuch Popularity to himſelf, that they

gave him a new Name; *inde cognomen factum Publicolæ est*; to denote that he was their Favourite and their Friend — *Latæ deinde leges — Ante omnes de provocatione ADVERSUS MAGISTRATUS AD POPULUM*, Livii, lib. 2. Cap. 8.

But Things afterwards took another Turn; *Rome*, with the Loss of its Liberty, lost also its Freedom of Speech; then Mens Words began to be fear'd and watch'd; and then first began the poisonous Race of Informers, banished indeed under the righteous Administration of *Titus*, *Nerva*, *Trajan*, *Aurelius*, &c. but encourag'd and enrich'd under the vile Ministry of *Sejanus*, *Tigillinus*, *Pallas*, and *Cleander*: *Querilibet, quod in secreta nostra non inquirant principes, nisi quos odimus*, says *Pliny* to *Trajan*.

The best Princes have ever encouraged and promoted Freedom of Speech; they know that upright Measures would defend themselves, and that all upright Men would defend them. *Tacitus*, speaking of the Reign of some of the Princes abovemention'd, says with Extasy, *Rara Temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis, & quæ sentias dicere licet*: A blessed Time, when you might think what you would, and speak what you thought.

The same was the Opinion and Practice of the wise and virtuous *Timoleon*, the Deliverer of the great City of *Syracuse* from Slavery. He being accused by *Demænetus*, a popular Orator, in a full Assembly of the People, of several Misdemeanors committed by him while he was General, gave no other Answer, than that *He was highly obliged to the Gods for granting him*

him a Request that he had often made to them, namely, *that he might live to see the* Syracusians *enjoy that Liberty of Speech which they now seem'd to be Masters of.*

And the great *M. Marcellus*, that won more Battles than any *Roman* Captain of his Age, being accused by the *Syracusians*, while he was now a fourth Time Consul, of having done them Indignities and hostile Wrongs, contrary to the League, rose from his Seat in the Senate, as soon as the Charge against him was opened, and passing (as a private Man) into the Place where the Accused were wont to make their Defence, gave free Liberty to the *Syracusians* to impeach him; which when they had done, he and they went out of the Court together to attend the Issue of the Cause: Nor did he express the least Ill-will or Resentment towards these his Accusers; but being acquitted, receiv'd their City into his Protection. Had he been guilty, he would neither have shewn such Temper or Courage.

I doubt not but Old *Spencer* and his Son, who were the chief Ministers and Betrayers of *Edward* the Second, would have been very glad to have stopped the Mouths of all the honest Men in *England*. They dreaded to be called Traytors, because they were Traytors. And I dare say, Queen *Elizabeth*'s *Walsingham*, who deserv'd no Reproaches, fear'd none. Misrepresentation of publick Measures is easily overthrown, by representing publick Measures truly; when they are honest, they ought to be publickly known, that they may be publickly commended; but if they are knavish or perni-

cious, they ought to be publickly expoſed, in order to be publickly deteſted.

That King *James* was a Papiſt and a Tyrant, was only ſo far hurtful to him, as it was true of him; and if the Earl of *Strafford* had not deſerved to be Impeached, he need not have feared a Bill of Attainder. If our Directors and their Confederates are not ſuch Knaves as the World thinks them; let them prove to all the World, that the World thinks wrong, and that they are guilty of none of thoſe Villainies which all the World lays to their Charge. Others too, who would be thought to have no Part of their Guilt, muſt, before they are thought innocent, ſhew that they did all that was in their Power to prevent that Guilt, and to check their Proceedings.

Freedom of Speech is the great Bulwark of Liberty: they proſper and die together: And it is the Terror of Traytors and Oppreſſors, and a Barrier againſt them. It produces excellent Writers, and encourages Men of fine Genius. *Tacitus* tells us, That the *Roman* Commonwealth bred great and numerous Authors, who writ with equal Boldneſs and Eloquence: But when it was enſlaved, thoſe great Wits were no more —— *Poſtquam bellatum apud Actium; atque omnem poteſtatem ad unum conferri pacis interfuit, magna illa ingenia ceſſere.* Tyranny had uſurp'd the Place of Equality, which is the Soul of Liberty, and deſtroyed publick Courage. The Minds of Men, terrified by unjuſt Power, degenerated into all the Vileneſs and Methods of Servitude: Abject Sycophancy and blind Submiſſion grew the only Means of Preferments,

and

and indeed of Safety: Men durſt not open their Mouths, but to flatter.

Pliny the Younger obſerves, that this Dread of Tyranny had ſuch Effect, that the Senate, the great *Roman* Senate, became at laſt ſtupid and dumb. *Mutam ac ſedentariam aſſentiendi neceſſitatem.* Hence, ſays he, our Spirit and Genius are ſtupified, broken, and ſunk for ever. And in one of his Epiſtles, ſpeaking of the Works of his Uncle, he makes an Apology for eight of them, as not written with the ſame Vigour which was to be found in the reſt; for, ſays he, theſe eight were written in the Reign of *Nero*, when the Spirit of Writing was cramp'd by Fear; *Dubii Sermonis octo ſcripſit ſub Nerone —— cum omne ſtudiorum genus paulo liberius & erectius periculoſum ſervitus feciſſet.*

All Miniſters, therefore, who were Oppreſſors, or intended to be Oppreſſors, have been loud in their Complaints againſt Freedom of Speech, and the Licenſe of the Preſs; and always reſtrained, or endeavoured to reſtrain, Both. In conſequence of this, they have brow-beaten Writers, and puniſhed them violently, and againſt Law, and burnt their Works; by all which, they ſhew'd how much Truth allarm'd them, and how much they were at Enmity with Truth.

There is a famous Inſtance of this in *Tacitus*. He tells us, that *Cremutius Cordus*, having in his Annals praiſed *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, gave Offence to *Sejanus*, Firſt Miniſter, and to ſome inferiour Sycophants in the Court of *Tiberius*; who, conſcious of their own Characters, took the Praiſe beſtowed on every worthy *Roman*, to be

ſo many Reproaches pointed at themſelves: They therefore complain of the Book to the Senate, which, being now only the Machine of Tyranny, condemned it be burnt. But this did not prevent its ſpreading——*Libros cremandos cenſuere Patres, ſed manſerunt occultati & editi*; being cenſured, it was the more ſought after. *From hence*, ſays *Tacitus*, *we may wonder at the Stupidity of thoſe Stateſmen, who hope to extinguiſh, by the Terrour of their Power, the Memory of their Actions*; for quite otherwiſe, *the Puniſhment of good Writers gains Credit to their Writings.* The *Latin* is inimitable; *Nam contra, punitis ingeniis, gliſcit auctoritas.* Nor did ever any Government, who practiſed impolitick Severity, get any Thing by it, but Infamy to themſelves, and Renown to thoſe who ſuffered under it. This alſo is an Obſervation of *Tacitus*: *Neque aliud Reges, qui ea ſævitia uſi ſunt, niſi dedecus ſibi atque gloriam illis peperere.*

Freedom of Speech, therefore, being of ſuch infinite Importance to the Preſervation of Liberty; every one who loves Liberty, ought to encourage Freedom of Speech. Hence it is, that I, living in a Country of Liberty, and under the beſt Prince upon Earth, ſhall take this very favourable Opportunity of ſerving Mankind, by warning them of the hideous Miſchiefs they will ſuffer, if ever corrupt and wicked Men ſhall hereafter get Poſſeſſion of any State, and the Power of betraying their Maſter: And, in order to do this, I will ſhew them by what Steps they will probably proceed to accompliſh their traiterous Ends. This may be the Subject of my next.

Valerius

Valerius Maximus tells us, that *Lentulus Marcellinus*, the *Roman* Conſul, having complained, in a popular Aſſembly, of the over-grown Power of *Pompey*; the whole People anſwered him with a Shout of Approbation: Upon which, the Conſul told them, *Shout on, Gentlemen, ſhout me, and uſe thoſe bold Signs of Liberty while you may, for I do not know how long they will be allowed you.*

God be thanked, we *Engliſhmen* have neither loſt our Liberties, nor are in Danger of loſing them. Let us always cheriſh this matchleſs Bleſſing, almoſt peculiar to our ſelves; that our Poſterity may, many Ages hence, aſcribe their Freedom to our Zeal. The Defence of Liberty, is a noble, a heavenly Office, which can only be performed where Liberty is: For, as the ſame *Valerius Maximus* obſerves, *Quid ergo Libertas ſine* Catone? *Non magis quam* Cato *ſine Libertate.*

I am, &c.

SIR,

THE wiſe *Sancha Pancha* deſired that his Subjects in the promiſed Iſland might be all Blacks, becauſe he would ſell them. And this ſeems to be the firſt modeſt, and, as I think, the only reaſonable Deſire of the Leaders of all Parties; for no Man will be at the Expence and Fatigue of Body and Conſcience,

which is neceſſary to lead a Faction, only to be diſturbed and annoyed by them.

A very great Authority has told us, that 'tis worth no Man's Time to ſerve a Party, unleſs he can now and then get good Jobbs by it. This, I can ſafely ſay has been the conſtant Principle and Practice of every leading Patriot ever ſince I have been capable of obſerving publick Tranſactions; the *primum Mobile*, the *Alpha* and *Omega* of all their Actions: They all profeſſed to have in view only the Publick Good, yet every one ſhewed he only meant his own; and all the while the great as well as little Mob, the *procerum turba Mobilium*, contend as fiercely for their Leaders, as if their Happineſs or Miſery depended upon the Phiz, the Cloaths, or Title of the Perſons who robbed and betrayed them: Thus the Highwayman, who ſaid to the Traveller, *Pray, Sir, leave your Watch and Money in my Hands, or elſe by G— you will be robbed.*

Pound a Fool in a Mortar, and he comes out never the wiſer; no Experience will make the Bulk of Mankind ſo, or put them upon their Guard; they will be caught over and over again by the ſame Baits and ſtale Stratagems: No ſooner is a Party betrayed by one Head, but they rail at him, and ſet up another; and when he has ſerved them in the ſame manner, they chuſe a Third, and put full Confidence in every one of them ſucceſſively, tho' they all make the ſame Uſe of their Credulity; that is, put a Price upon their Calves Heads, and ſell them; which, however, they have the

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leſs Reaſon to complain of, becauſe they would have all done the ſame.

I aſſure you, Sir, that I have not the leaſt Hopes in this Letter, to make Men honeſter, but I would gladly teach them a little more Wit; that is, I would adviſe any one who is contented to be ſold, that he receives the Money himſelf, and takes good Care of One, whatever becomes of his Neighbours; as ſome diſcreet Perſons have lately done. Whatever Bargains are ſtruck up amongſt the Betrayers of their Country, we muſt find the Money, and pay both Sides. How wiſe and advantageous would it then be for us, not to intereſt our ſelves in the Agreements or Squabbles of ambitious Men, who are building their Fortunes upon our Ruin. Once upon a Time, a *French* Ambaſſador deſired an Audience of the Grand Vizier, and in pompous *French* Fuſtain notified to him, that his Maſter had won a great Victory over the *Germans*; to which that wiſe Miniſter anſwered Laconically, *What is it to me, if the whole Herd of Unbelivers, like Dogs, mutually worry one another, ſo that my Maſter's Head be ſafe.*

This Letter of Advice is not intended for thoſe who ſhare already in the publick Spoils, or who like Jackalls hunt down the Lyon's Prey, that they may have the picking of the Bones, when their Maſters are glutted. But I would perſwade the poor, the injured, the diſtreſſed People, to be no longer the Dupes and Property of Hypocrites and Traytors. But very few can ſhare in the Wages of Iniquity, and all the reſt muſt ſuffer: The People's Intereſt is the Publick Intereſt; it ſignifies the ſame Thing:

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Whatever these Betrayers of their Country get, the People must loose; and what is worse, must loose a great deal more than the others can get; for such Conspiracies and Extortions cannot be successfully carried on, without destroying or injuring Trade, perverting Justice, corrupting the Guardians of the publick Liberty, and the almost total Dissolution of the Principles of Government.

Few can receive the Advantages arising from publick Misfortunes, and therefore methinks few should desire them. Indeed, I can easily see how Men of desperate Circumstances, or Men guilty of desperate Crimes, can find their Account in a general Confusion of all Things. I can see how those Priests who aim at Tyranny, can find their Interest in the Loss of publick Liberty, in the Restraint of the Press, and by introducing a Religion which destroys Christianity: There are Reasons too at hand, why ambitious Men *per fas & nefas* should grasp at the Possession of immense Wealth, high Honours, and exorbitant Power: But that the Gentry, the Body of the People in a free Nation, should become the Tools and Instruments of Knaves and Pick-pockets, should list themselves in their Quarrels, and fight their Battles, and this too often at the Expence, and by the Violation of good Neighbourhood, near Relation, private Friendship; that Men of great Estates and Quality, for small and trifling Considerations, and sometimes none at all, should promote wild, villainous Projects, to the Ruin of themselves and Country, by making precarious their own Titles to their Lives,

Lives, Eſtates, and Liberties; is ſomething ſo ſtupendious, that it muſt be thought impoſſible, if daily Experience did not convince us that it is more than poſſible.

I have often ſeen honeſt *Tories* fooliſhly defending knaviſh *Tories*, and untainted *Whigs* protecting corrupt *Whigs*, even in Inſtances where they acted againſt the Principles of all *Whigs*; and by that Means depreciated *Whiggiſm* itſelf, and gave the ſtupid Herd Occaſion to believe they had no Principles at all, but were only a factious Combination for Preferment and Power.

It is high Time, at laſt, for the Bubbles of all Parties, for *Whigs* and *Tories*, for High-Church and Low-Church, to come to an *Eclairciſſement*, and no longer ſuffer themſelves to be bought and ſold by their Drivers: Let them ceaſe to be Calves and Sheep, and they will not be uſed like Calves and Sheep. If they can be perſwaded now and then to confer Notes, they will find, that for the moſt part the Differences between them are not material; that they take only different Meaſures to attain the ſame Ends; that they have but one common Intereſt, which is the Intereſt of their Country; and that is, to be freed from Oppreſſion, and to puniſh their Oppreſſors; whoſe Practice, on the contrary, will always be to form Parties, and blow up Factions to mutual Animoſities, that they may find Protection in thoſe Animoſities.

Let us not therefore hereafter ſuffer our ſelves to be ſet together by the Ears, and make Crowds, which are the Harveſts of Pick-pockets; Let us learn to value an honeſt Man

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of another Party, more than a Knave of our own: Let the only Contention be, who shall be most ready to spew out their own Rogues, and I will be answerable, all other Differences will soon be at an End. Indeed there had been no such Thing as Party now in *England*, if we had not been betrayed by those we trusted.

Thro' the Villainy and Knavish Designs of Leaders, this Nation has lost several glorious Opportunities of rescuing the Constitution, and settling it upon a firm and solid Basis; let us not therefore, by the like Practices, loose the present favourable Offer: Let us make Earnings of our Misfortunes, and accept our Calamities as an Opportunity thrown into our Laps by indulgent Providence, to save our selves; and not again foolishly and ungratefully reject and spurn at the Intimations and Invitations of Heaven to preserve our Prince and Country.

Machiavel tells us, that no Government can long subsist, but by recurring often to its first Principles; but this can never be done while Men live at Ease and in Luxury, for then they cannot be persuaded to see distant Dangers, of which they feel no Part. The Conjunctures proper for such Reformations, are when Men are awakened by Misfortunes, and frighted with the Approach and near View of present Evils; then they will wish for Remedies, and their Minds are prepared to receive them, to hear Reasons, and to fall into Measures proposed by wise Men for their Security.

The great Authority, just quoted, informs us what Measures and Expedients are necessary to save a State under such Exigencies: He tells

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us, that as a Tyranny cannot be eſtabliſhed, but by deſtroying *Brutus*; ſo a free Government is not to be preſerved, but by deſtroying *Brutus's* Sons: Let us therefore put on a Reſolution equal to the mighty Occaſion: Let us exert a Spirit worthy of *Britons*, worthy of Freemen, who deſerve Liberty. Let us take Advantage of the Opportunity, while Mens Reſentments boil high, whilſt leſſer Animoſities ſeem to be laid aſide, and moſt Men are ſick of Party and Party Leaders; and let us by all proper Methods exemplarily puniſh the Parricides, and avowed Enemies of all Mankind.

Let neither private Acquaintance, perſonal Alliance, or Party Combination, ſtand between us and our Duty to our Country: Let all thoſe, who have a common Intereſt in the publick Safety, join in common Meaſures to defend the publick Safety: Let us purſue to Diſgrace, Deſtruction, and even Death, thoſe who have brought this Ruin upon us, let them be ever ſo great, or ever ſo many: Let us ſtamp, and deep engrave in Characters legible to all *Europe* at preſent, and to all Poſterity hereafter, what Vengeance is due to Crimes, which have no leſs Objects in view than the Ruin of Nations, and the Deſtruction of Millions: They have made many bold, deſperate and wicked Attempts to deſtroy us; let us ſtrike one honeſt and bold Stroke to deſtroy them.

Tho' the Deſigns of the Conſpirators ſhould be laid deep as the Center, tho' they ſhould raiſe Hell it ſelf in their Quarrel, and ſhould fetch Legions of Votaries from thence to avow their Proceedings; yet let us not leave the Purſuit

ſuit till we have their Skins and their Eſtates: We know by paſt Experience, that there are thoſe amongſt us, who will be glad to quit the Chaſe, when our Villains, like Beavers, drop what they are uſually hunted for; but the Nation is now too much provoked, and too much injured, to ſuffer themſelves to be again ſo betray'd.

We have Heaven to direct us, a glorious King to lead us, and a wiſe and faithful Parliament to aſſiſt and protect us. Whilſt we have ſuch a King, and ſuch a Parliament, every worthy *Briton* cries out aloud

Manum hanc inimicam Tyrannis
Enſe petit placidam, ſub libertate quietem.

I am, &c.

SIR,

AS under the beſt Princes, and the beſt Servants to Princes alone, it is ſafe to ſpeak what is true of the worſt; ſo, according to my former Promiſe to the Publick, I ſhall take the Advantage of our excellent King's moſt gentle Government, and the virtuous Adminiſtration of an uncorrupt Miniſtry, to warn Mankind againſt the Miſchiefs which may hereafter be dreaded from corrupt ones. It is too true, that every Country in the World has ſometimes groaned under that heavy Misfortune, and our

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own as much as any; tho' I cannot allow it to be true, what Monſieur *de Witt* has long ſince obſerv'd, that the *Engliſh* Court has always been the moſt thieviſh Court in *Europe*.

Few Men have been deſperate enough to attack openly, and barefaced, the Liberties of a free People. Such avowed Conſpirators can rarely ſucceed: The Attempt would deſtroy it ſelf. Even when the Enterprize is begun and viſible, the End muſt be hid, or denied. It is the Buſineſs and Policy of Traytors, ſo to diſguiſe their Treaſon with plauſible Names, and ſo to recommend it with popular and bewitching Colours, that they themſelves ſhall be adored, while their Work is deteſted, and yet carried on by thoſe that deteſt it.

Thus one Nation has been ſurrender'd to another, under the fair Name of mutual Alliance: The Fortreſſes of a Nation have been given up, or attempted to be given up, under the frugal Notion of ſaving Charges to a Nation; and Commonwealths have been trepann'd into Slavery by Troops raiſed or increaſed to defend them from Slavery.

It may therefore be of Service to the World, to ſhew what Meaſures have been taken by corrupt Miniſters, in ſome of our neighbouring Countries, to ruin and enſlave the People over whom they preſided; and to ſhew by what Steps and Gradations of Miſchief Nations have been undone, and conſequently what Methods may be hereafter taken to undo others; and this Subject I rather chuſe, becauſe my Countrymen may be the more ſenſible of, and know how to value, the ineſtimable Bleſſing of living under

under the beſt Prince, and the beſt eſtabliſh'd Government in the Univerſe, where we have none of theſe Things to fear.

Such Traytors will probably endeavour firſt to get their Prince into their Poſſeſſion, and, like *Sejanus*, ſhut him up in a little Iſland, or perhaps make him a Priſoner in his Court; whilſt, with full Range, they devour his Dominions, and plunder his Subjects. When he is thus ſecluded from the Acceſs of his Friends, and the Knowledge of his Affairs, he muſt be content with ſuch Miſrepreſentations as they ſhall find expedient to give him. Falſe Caſes will be ſtated, to juſtify wicked Counſel; and wicked Counſel will be given, to procure unjuſt Orders. He will be made to miſtake his Foes for his Friends, and his Friends for his Foes; and to believe that his Affairs are in the higheſt Proſperity, when they are in the greateſt Diſtreſs, and that the publick Matters go on in the greateſt Harmony, when they are in the utmoſt Confuſion.

They will be ever contriving and forming wicked and dangerous Projects, to make the People poor, and themſelves rich; well knowing that Dominion follows Property; that where there are Wealth and Power, there will be always Crowds of ſervile Dependents; and that on the contrary, Poverty dejects the Mind, and faſhions it for Slavery, and renders it unequal to any generous Undertaking, and incapable of oppoſing any bold Uſurpation. They will ſquander away the publick Money in wanton Preſents to Minions, and their Creatures of Pleaſure, or of Burden, or in Penſions to mercenary

venary and worthleſs Men and Women, for vile Ends, and traiterous Purpoſes.

They will engage their Country in ridiculous, expenſive, fantaſtical Wars, to keep the Minds of Men in continual Hurry and Agitation, and under conſtant Fears and Alarms; and by ſuch Means deprive them both of Leiſure and Inclination to look into publick Miſcarriages. Men, on the contrary, will, inſtead of ſuch Inſpection, be diſpoſed to fall into all Meaſures offered, ſeemingly, for their Defence, and will agree to every wild Demand made by thoſe who are betraying them.

When they have ſerved their Ends by ſuch Wars, or have other Motives to make Peace, they will have no View to the publick Intereſt; but will often, to procure ſuch Peace, deliver up the ſtrong Holds of their Country, or its Colonies for Trade, to open Enemies, ſuſpected Friends, or dangerous Neighbours, that they may not be interrupted in their Domeſtick Deſigns.

They will create Parties in the Commonwealth, or keep them up where they already are; and by playing them by turns upon each other, will rule both. By making the *Guelfs* afraid of the *Ghibilinas*, and theſe afraid of the *Guelfs*, they will make themſelves the Mediums and Ballance between the two Factions; and both Factions, in their Turns, the Props of their Authority, and the Inſtruments of their Deſigns.

They will not ſuffer any Men, who have once taſted of Authority, though perſonally their Enemies, and whoſe Poſts they enjoy, to be

be called to an Account for paſt Crimes, tho' ever ſo enormous. They will make no ſuch Precedents for their own Puniſhment, nor cenſure Treaſon which they intend to commit. On the contrary, they will form new Conſpiracies, and invent new Fences for their own Impunity and Protection; and endeavour to engage ſuch Numbers in their Guilt, as to ſet themſelves above all Fear of Puniſhment.

They will prefer worthleſs and wicked Men, and not ſuffer a Man of Knowledge or Honeſty to come near them, or enjoy a Poſt under them. They will diſgrace Men of Virtue, and ridicule Virtue it ſelf, and laugh at publick Spirit. They will put Men into Employments, without any Regard to the Qualifications for theſe Employments, or indeed to any Qualification at all, but as they contribute to their Deſigns, and ſhew a ſtupid Alacrity to do what they are bid. They muſt be either Fools or Beggars; either void of Capacity to diſcover their Intrigues, or of Credit and Inclination to diſappoint them.

They will promote Luxury, Idleneſs, and Expence, and a general Depravation of Manners, by their own Example, as well as by Connivance and publick Encouragement. This will not only divert Mens Thoughts from examining their Behaviour and Politicks, but likewiſe ſet them looſe from all the Reſtraints of private and publick Virtue. From Immorality and Exceſſes, they will fall into Neceſſity, and from thence into a ſervile Dependance upon Power.

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In order to this, they will bring into Fashion Gaming, Drunkenness, Gluttony, and profuse and costly Dress. They will debauch their Country with foreign Vices, and foreign Instruments of vicious Pleasures; and will contrive and encourage publick Revels, nightly Disguises, and debauch'd Mummeries.

They will, by all practicable Means of Oppression, provoke the People to Disaffection; and then make that Disaffection an Argument for new Oppression, for not trusting them any further, and for keeping up Troops; and, in fine, for depriving them of Liberties and Privileges, to which they are entitled by their Birth, and the Laws of their Country.

If such Measures should ever be taken in any free Country, where the People chuse Deputies to represent them, then they will endeavour to bribe the Electors in the Choice of their Representatives, and so to get a Council of their own Creatures; and where they cannot succeed with the Electors, they will endeavour to corrupt the Deputies after they are chosen, with the Money given for the publick Defence; and to draw into the Perpetration of their Crimes those very Men, from whom the betrayed People expect the Redress of their Grievances, and the Punishment of those Crimes. And when they have thus made the Representatives of the People afraid of the People, and the People afraid of their Representatives; then they will endeavour to persuade those Deputies to seize the Government to themselves, and not to trust their Principals

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any longer with the Power of reſenting their Treachery and ill Uſage, and of ſending honeſter and wiſer Men in their Room.

But if the Conſtitution ſhould be ſo ſtubbornly framed, that it will ſtill preſerve itſelf, and the Peoples Liberties, in ſpight of all villainous Contrivances to deſtroy both; then muſt the Conſtitution itſelf be attack'd and broken, becauſe it will not bend. There muſt be an Endeavour, under ſome Pretence of publick Good, to alter a Ballance of the Government, and to get it into the ſole Power of their Creatures, and of ſuch who will have conſtantly an Intereſt diſtinct from that of the Body of the People.

But if all theſe Schemes for the Ruin of the Publick, and their own Impunity, ſhould fail them; and the worthy Patriots of a free Country ſhould prove obſtinate in Defence of their Country, and reſolve to call its Betrayers to a ſtrict Account; there is then but one Thing left for ſuch Traytors to do; namely, to veer about, and by joining with the Enemy of their Prince and Country, compleat their Treaſon.

I have ſomewhere read of a Favourite, and firſt Miniſter to a neighbouring Prince, long ſince dead, who play'd his Part ſo well, that, though he had, by his evil Counſels, raiſed a Rebellion, and a Conteſt for the Crown; yet he preſerved himſelf a Reſource, whoever got the better: If his old Maſter ſucceeded, then this *Achitophel*, by the Help of a baffled Rebellion, ever favourable to Princes, had the Glory of fixing his Maſter in abſolute Power: But, as his brave Rival got the Day, *Achitophel* had

had the Merit of betraying his old Maſter to plead, and was accordingly taken into Favour.

Happy therefore, thrice happy, are we, who can be unconcern'd Spectators of the Miſeries which the greateſt Part of *Europe* is reduced to ſuffer, having loſt their Liberties by the Intrigues and Wickedneſs of thoſe they truſted; whilſt we continue in full Enjoyment of ours, and can be in no Danger of loſing them, while we have ſo excellent a King, aſſiſted and obeyed by ſo wiſe a Parliament.

I am, &c.

SIR,

VENALIS civitas mox peritura ſi emptorem invenias! "Mercenary City, ripe for Deſtruction, and juſt ready to deliver up thy "ſelf, and all thy Liberties, to the firſt Bidder, who is able to buy thee," ſaid the great *Jugurtha*, when he was leaving *Rome*. *Rome*, the Nurſe of Heroes, the Miſtreſs of Nations, the Glory of Empires, and the Source, the Standard and Pattern of Virtue and Knowledge, and indeed, of every Thing which ever was praiſe-worthy and valuable amongſt Men, was ſoon after fallen, fallen ten thouſand, thouſand Fathoms deep in the Abyſs of Corruption and Impiety: No more of that publick Spirit appeared, that rendered it amiable, as well as terrible to the World: It had conquered by its

its Virtue more than its Arms: It had commanded a willing Subjection from the numerous Nations, who readily acknowledged its superior Genius and natural Right to Empire, and afterwards their own Condition to be grac'd by the Dignity of such a Mistress.

But, says the Abbot *Vertot*, *about this Time another Nation seem'd to appear upon the Stage: A general Corruption soon spread it self through all Degrees of the State: Justice was publickly sold in the Tribunals: The Voices of the People went to the highest Bidder; and the Consuls, having obtained that great Post by Intrigues, or by Bribery, never now made War but to enrich themselves with the Spoils of Nations, and often to plunder those very Provinces, which their Duty bound them to protect and defend* —— *The Provinces were obliged to supply these prodigious Expences: The Generals possessed themselves of the Revenues of the Commonwealth, and the State was weakened in proportion as its Members became powerful.* —— *It was sufficient Colour for rifling the People, and laying new Imposts, if they did but give those Exactions a new Name.*

There arose on a sudden, and as it were by Enchantment, magnificent Palaces, whose Walls, Roofs, and Ceilings were all gilded: It was not enough that their Beds and Tables were all of Silver; that rich Metal must also be carved and adorned with Basso Relievo's, *performed by the most excellent Artists* —— *All the Money of the State was in the Hands of the Great Men, the Publicans, and certain Freed-men richer than their Masters.*

He says, *It would make a Volume to represent the Magnificence of their Buildings, the Richness of their*

their Habits, the Jewels they wore, the prodigious Number of Slaves, Freed-men, and Clients, by which they were conſtantly attended, and eſpecially the Expence and Profuſion of their Tables: They were not contented, if in the midſt of Winter, the Falernian-Wine that was preſented them was not ſtrew'd with Roſes; and cool'd in Veſſels of Gold in Summer: Their Side-Boards groan'd under the Weight and Load of Plate, both Silver and Gold: They valued the Feaſt only by the Coſtlineſs of the Diſhes that were ſerved up; Pheaſants muſt be fetch'd for them through all the Dangers of the Sea; and to compleat their Corruption, after the Conqueſt of Aſia, *they began to introduce Women-Singers and Dancers into their Entertainments.*

What Defenders of Liberty, ſays he, *are here? What an Omen of approaching Slavery? None could be greater, than to ſee Valour leſs regarded in a State than Luxury; to ſee the poor Officer languiſhing in the obſcure Honours of a Legion, whilſt the Grandees conceal'd their Cowardice, and dazzled the Eyes of the Publick by the Magnificence of their Equipage, and the Profuſion of their Expence.*

But what did all this Profuſion and Magnificence produce? Pleaſures ſucceeded in the room of Temperance, Idleneſs took place of the Love of Buſineſs, and private Regards extinguiſh'd that Love of Liberty, and Zeal and Warmth, which their Anceſtors had ſhewn for the Intereſt of the Publick; Luxury and Pride became faſhionable; all Ranks and Orders of Men tried to outvie one another in Expence and Pomp; and when by ſo doing they had ſpent their private Patrimonies, they endeavoured to make Repriſals upon the Publick;

and having before ſold every thing elſe, at laſt ſold their Country.

The publick Treaſure was ſquandred away, and divided amongſt private Men; and new Demands made, and new Taxes and Burthens laid upon the People, to continue and ſupport this Extravagance. Such Conduct in the Great Ones, occaſion'd Murmurings, univerſal Diſcontent, and at laſt Civil Wars. The People threw themſelves under different Heads, or Leaders of Parties, who all aſpired to make themſelves Maſters of the Commonwealth, and of the publick Liberty; and during the Struggle, *Rome* and all *Italy* was but one Slaughter-Houſe. Thouſands, Hundreds of Thouſands, fell Sacrifices to the Ambition of a few: Rivers of Blood ran in the publick Streets, and Proſcriptions and Maſſacres were eſteemed Sport and Paſtime; till at length, two Thirds of the People were deſtroy'd, and the reſt made Slaves to the moſt wicked and contemptible Wretches of Mankind.

Thus ended the greateſt, the nobleſt State that ever adorned the worldly Theatre, that ever the Sun ſaw: It fell a Victim to Ambition and Faction, to baſe and unworthy Men, to Parricides and Traytors: and every other Nation muſt run the ſame Fortune, expect the ſame fatal Cataſtrophe, who ſuffer themſelves to be debauch'd with the ſame Vices, and are actuated by the ſame Principles and Paſſions.

I wiſh I could ſay, that the Abbot *Vertot's* Deſcription of the *Roman* State, in its laſt Decenſion, ſuited no other State in our own Time. I hope we ourſelves have none of theſe

Cor-

Corruptions and Abuſes to complain of: I am ſure if we have, it is high Time to reform them, and to prevent the diſmal Evils they threaten. It is wild to think there is any other Way to prevent the Conſequence, without preventing the Corruption, and the Cauſes which produce them: Mankind will be always the ſame, will always act within one Circle; and when we know what they did a Thouſand Years ago, in any Circumſtance, we ſhall know what they will do a Thouſand Years hence in the ſame. This is what is called Experience, the ſureſt Miſtreſs and Leſſon of Wiſdom.

Let us therefore grow wiſe by others Misfortunes: Let us make uſe of the *Roman* Language, as a Vehicle of good Senſe, and uſeful Inſtruction; and not uſe it like Pedants, Prieſts, and Pedagogues. Let their Virtues and their Vices, and the Puniſhment of them too, be an Example to us; and ſo prevent our Miſeries from being an Example to other Nations: Let us avoid the Rocks upon which they have ſuffered Shipwreck, and ſet up Buoys and Sea-Marks to warn and guide Poſterity. In fine, let us examine and look narrowly into every Part of our Conſtitution, and ſee if any Corruptions or Abuſes are crept or gallop'd into it. Let us ſearch our Wounds to the Core, without which it is beyond the Power of Surgery to apply ſuitable Remedies.

Our preſent Misfortunes will rouſe up our Spirits, and as it were awaken us out of a deep Lethargy: It is true, indeed, that they came upon us like a Storm of Thunder and Lightning in a clear Sky, and when the Heavens

ſeem'd moſt ſerene; but the combuſtible Matter was prepared before: Steams and Exhalations had been long gathering from Bogs and Jakes; and tho' they ſome time ſeem'd diſperſed and far removed by the Heat of a warm Sun, yet the Firmament was all the while impregnating with Fire and Brimſtone; and now on a ſudden the Clouds thicken, and look black and big on every Side, and threaten us with a Hurricane.

Let us therefore act the Part of skilful Pilots, and call all Hands to labour at the Oars and at the Ropes: Let us begin with throwing all our Luggage and uſeleſs Trumpery overboard; then let us lower or take down all ſuperfluous Sails, to prevent the Boat from being overſet; and when we have done all in our Power to ſave the Ship, let us implore the Aſſiſtance of Heaven, and I doubt not but we ſhall out-ride the Storm.

Quid times? Cæſarem vehis —— We have King *George* on Board, and at the Helm; the Favourite of Heaven, and the Darling of all good Men; who not only gives us full Leave, but encourages and aſſiſts us to ſave our ſelves: He will not, like ſome weak Princes amongſt his Predeceſſors, ſkreen guilty Great Men, ſuffer others Faults to be laid at his Door, nor permit his Authority to be proſtituted to patronize Criminals, or interpoſe and ſtand between his Peoples juſt Reſentment and the Puniſhment of worthleſs Favourites, of which ſort of Cattle he has none; ſo that it is our own Fault if we are not happy, great and free.

Indeed,

Indeed, we owe that Juſtice and Duty to our great Benefactor, as not only fairly and impartially to repreſent to him our Circumſtances, and how we came into them; but to do all in our Power to put our Conſtitution on ſuch a Bottom, if any thing is wanting to it, that he may have the Honour and Pleaſure of reigning over a free and happy People. This will be to make our Gift compleat, in preſenting him with a Crown, not beſet with any Difficulties; a glorious Crown, and not mock him with one of Thorns.

I ſhall ſoon, in ſome other Letter, offer my Thoughts from what Sources theſe Miſchiefs have flowed upon us, and what Methods I conceive are eſſentially neceſſary to retrieve them.

I am, &c.

SIR,

OPINION and Reputation have often the greateſt Share in governing the Affairs of the World. Miſled by the great Byaſs of Superſtition, every where found in humane Nature, or by Ignorance and Prejudices proceeding as often from Education it ſelf, as from the Want of it, we often take the Appearance of Things for Things themſelves, and miſtake our own Imaginations for Realities, and our Deluſions for Certainties and Truth. A very ſmall Part of Mankind is exempted from the

deluſive Influence of Omens, Preſages, and Prognoſticks.

This and the like Superſtitions enter into every Scene of private and publick Life; Gameſters throw away the Cards and Dice they loſt by, and call for others, without any other Preference than that they are not the very ſame. Gardeners pretend to plant Trees in a fortunate Seaſon: Many People will not marry, or do any Buſineſs, but on certain Days accounted proſperous; and even Generals have had their fortunate and unfortunate Times and Seaſons, and have often declined coming to a Battle, when the Advantage was apparently on their Side, merely becauſe the Day, or Time of the Day, was ill-boding.

Now, tho' all the Whimſies of this Kind have no Foundation, but in Opinion; yet they often produce as certain and regular Events, as if the Cauſes were adequate in their own Nature to the Events. The Opinion of a Phyſician or a Medicine, does often effect the Cure of a Patient, by giving to his Mind ſuch Eaſe and Acquieſcence as can alone produce Health. The Opinion of a General, or of a Cauſe, makes an Army fight with double Vigour; and a Confidence in the Wiſdom and Integrity of Governours, makes a Nation exert its utmoſt Efforts for its own Security; whereas by a Diſtruſt of its Rulers, it often ſinks into a univerſal Indifference and Deſpondency. The Change alone of a General, or a Miniſter, has often chang'd the Succeſs of a People, even where there has been no ſuperiour Endowments in the Succeſſor; for if they can be made to believe,

believe, that their Misfortunes are owing to the ill Conduct or ill Genius of those who command them, the Removal of the supposed Cause of their Misfortunes, will inspire them with new Courage and Resolution, which are almost always rewarded with Success and Victory.

From hence the most famous Legislators, Princes, and Generals, have endeavoured to instill into their Followers an Opinion of their being more than humane, as being descended from, or related to some God; or have asserted a familiar Communion with the Gods, and a Right to explain their Wills, and to execute their Commands: By these Means they obtained an unlimited Confidence in their Abilities, a cheerful Submission to their Authority, and an Assurance of Success under their Conduct.

Where personal Virtues and Qualifications, by which the above Pretensions are supported, are wanting, as in the successive Eastern Monarchies; there other Arts are used to gain Admiration, and draw Reverence to the Persons of their Princes, and blind Obedience to their Power. Those stately Tyrants are, for the most part, shut up in their Palaces, where every Thing is august about them: They seldom shew themselves abroad to their People; and when they do, it is in the most awful and astonishing Manner, attended by numerous Guards, richly habited, and armed; whilst their own Persons are covered with Pearl, and glittering with Diamonds; and perhaps the Horses and Elephants they ride on, are all in a Blaze of Gold and precious Stones.

The demure Faces and deep Silence of their Miniſters and Attendants, contribute to ſpread the general Awe; which is ſtill heighten'd by the ſolemn Clangor of Trumpets, and other warlike Sounds. All this prepares the gaping and enchanted Multitude to ſwallow with equal Credulity and Wonder, the plauſible Stories artfully given out amongſt them, of the ſublime and celeſtial Qualities of their Emperors, inſomuch that even their very Images are worſhipped.

Indeed, in Countries where Liberty is eſtabliſhed, and People think for themſelves, all the above Arts and Pretences would be ridiculous, and ſuch Farce and Grimace would be laugh'd at: The People have Senſe enough to know that all this Profuſion and Wealth are their own Spoils; that they muſt labour and want, that others may be idle and abound; and they will ſee that their Poverty is encreaſed, and their Miſeries aggravated and mocked by the Pomp and Luxury of their Maſters.

Amongſt ſuch People, virtuous and juſt Actions, or the Appearance of virtuous and juſt Actions, are the only Ways of gaining Eſteem, Reverence, and Submiſſion: They muſt ſee, or fancy they ſee, that the Views and Meaſures of their Governors tend honeſtly, and only to the publick Welfare and Proſperity, and they muſt find their own Account in their Obedience. A Prince who deals thus with his People, can rarely be in danger from diſaffected Subjects or powerful Neighbours; his faithful People will be his conſtant Guard, and finding their own Security in his Government, will be always ready

ready at his Call to take effectual Vengeance upon thoſe who ſhall attempt to oppoſe or undermine his juſt Authority.

However, the wiſeſt and moſt free People are not without their Superſtitions and their Foibles; and prudent Governors will take Advantage of them, and endeavour to apply them to the publick Benefit. The *Romans* themſelves had their *Dies faſtos & nefaſtos*, their fortunate and unfortunate Generals, and ſometimes empty Names have been eſteemed Endowments and Merit. Another *Scipio* was appointed by the *Romans* to demoliſh *Carthage*, which was firſt ſubdued by the Great *Scipio*, and the *Athenians* called for another *Phormio* for their War at *Lepanto*.

Generals and Miniſters have been oftentimes diſgraced, even by wiſe Nations, for making unfortunate Expeditions, or for unfortunate Conduct in directing the Publick Affairs, when there was no Deceit, or want of Virtue in thoſe Generals and Miniſters; for if a Nation or an Army takes an univerſal, tho' an unreaſonable Diſguſt, at one or a few Men, it is ridiculous to bring his or their Intereſt in Ballance with the Satisfaction and Affections of Millions, or much leſs than Millions. Prudent Princes therefore have been always extremely cautious how they employ'd Men in any conſiderable Station, who were either odious or contemptible, even tho' it happen'd that they were innocently and unfortunately ſo.

Indeed this can ſeldom happen; for a virtuous and modeſt Man will never thruſt himſelf into the Service of his Prince, nor continue

longer in it, than he is acceptable to the People: He will know that he can do no real Good to the Country, that will receive no Good at his Hands; That the Publick Jealousy will misrepresent his whole Conduct, and render his best Designs abortive, and his best Actions useless: That he will be a Clog and a dead Weight upon the Affairs of his Prince; and that the general Distaste taken at him, will by Degrees make his Prince the Object of general Distaste.

But when Ministers have deservedly incurr'd the general Hatred; when they have been known to have employ'd their whole Power and Interest in Opposition to the Publick Interest; when being trusted with a Nation's Affairs, they have desperately projected, and obstinately pursued Schemes big with Publick Ruin; when they have weakened the Authority of their Prince to strengthen their own, and endangered his Safety for the Security of their own Heads, and the Protection of their Crimes; when they have thriven by the Publick Ruin, and being the known Authors of universal Calamities, have become the proper Objects of such universal Detestation, as not to have one real Friend in their Country, or one sincere Advocate even amongst the many they have bribed to be so: If, after all this, they will go on to brave a Nation which they have before ruined, confidently continue at the Head of Affairs, and obstinately persist to overturn their King and Country; this, I say, is aggravating their Crimes, by an Insolence, which no Publick Resentment can equal.

This

This was the Caſe of *England* under the Influence of *Gaveſton* and the two *Spencers*; and this was the Caſe of the *Netherlands* under the Adminiſtration of the Duke of *Alva*; which Miniſters ſeverally ruined their Maſters and their Country. Nations under ſuch woeful Conduct and unlucky Conſtellations, are often driven into Revolts, or loſe all Courage to defend themſelves, either againſt the Attacks from their Native Traytors, or Foreign Invaders.

This is famouſly verified in the Story of the *Decemviri*, a College of Magiſtrates created by the *Romans* for one Year, to compile and eſtabliſh a Body of Laws: This Term was thought long enough, and undoubtedly was ſo; but theſe deſigning Men, under the plauſible Colour of adding Two more Tables to the Ten already finiſhed and publiſhed, got their Sitting prolonged for another Year; nor at the expiring of that, tho' the Two Tables were added, did they diſſolve themſelves; but in Defiance of the People who choſe them, and now every where murmured againſt them, as well as ſuffered by them, continued their Authority.

The City of *Rome* ſaw it ſelf under a new Government; *Deploratur in perpetuum libertas, nec vindex quiſquam extitit aut futurus videtur*: The Conſtitution was gone; and tho' all Men complained, yet none offered to help. Whilſt the *Romans* were thus deſponding at Home, they were deſpiſed Abroad: The neighbouring Nations were provoked, that Dominion ſhould ſtill ſubſiſt in a City, where Liberty ſubſiſted no longer. The *Roman* Territories therefore were invaded by the *Sabins* and the *Æqnians*. This terrified,

terrified the Faction, but I do not find it troubled the People, who neither feared nor hated foreign Invaders half ſo much as their own Domeſtick Traytors. The deſperate Parricides determined rather to ſacrifice their Country than loſe their Places; ſo to War they went, but with miſerable Succeſs. They managed the War no better than they did the State, and had no more Credit in the Camp than in the City: The Soldiers would not fight under deteſted Leaders, but ran away before the Enemy, and ſuffered a ſhameful Rout.

Nor did this Loſs and Diſgrace, at once unuſual and terrible to *Rome*, at all move the Traytors to reſign: They went on miſgoverning and debauching, till the Meaſures of their Wickedneſs being full, they were driven out of their Poſts by the Vigour of the State, and the Aſſiſtance of the People. The two chief Traytors were caſt into Priſon, and the reſt into Baniſhment.

This ſoon happily changed the State of Affairs, and the Spirit of the People; who, having got at length an honeſt Adminiſtration, and Governors whom they loved and truſted, quickly beat the Enemy out of the Territories of *Rome*, that very Enemy, who in other Circumſtances had beaten them.

I am, &c.

SIR,

SIR,

PArcere *subjectis & debellare superbos*; to pay well and hang well, to protect the Innocent, and punish the Oppressors, are the Hinges and Ligaments of Government, the chief Ends of Mens entering into Societies: To attain these Ends, they have been content to part with their natural Rights, a great Share of their Substance and Industry; to quit their Equality, and submit themselves to those who had before no Right to command them. For this, Millions live willingly in an innocent and safe Obscurity, to make a few great Men, and enable them at their Expence to shine in Pomp and Magnificence.

But all this Pageantry is not designed for those who wear it: They carry about them the Dignity of the Commonwealth: The Honours they receive are Honours paid to the Publick, and they themselves are only the Pillars and Images upon which National Trophies are hung; for when they are divested of these *Insignia*, no more Respect and Homage is due to them, than what results from their own Vertue and Merit: Yet such is the Depravity of humane Nature, that few can distinguish their own Persons from the Ensigns and Ornaments they wear, or their Duty from their Dignity: There seems to be a Judgment upon all Men in certain Stations, that they can never think of the

the Time when they have been, or may again be out of them.

A good Magiſtrate is the brighteſt Character upon Earth, as being moſt conducive to the Benefit of Mankind; and a bad one is a greater Monſter than ever Hell engendred: He is an Enemy and Traytor to his own Species: Where there is the greateſt Truſt, the betraying it is the greateſt Treaſon. The Faſces, the Judge, and the Executioner, do not make the Crime, but puniſh it; and the Crime is never the leſs, tho' it eſcapes the Vengeance due to it. *Alexander*, who robbed Kingdoms and States, was a greater Felon than the Pyrate he put to death, tho' no One was ſtrong enough to inflict the ſame Puniſhment upon him. It is no more juſt to rob with Regiments or Squadrons, than by ſingle Men, or ſingle Ships; for unleſs we are determined by the Juſtice of the Action, there can be no Criterion, Boundary, or fix'd Mark, to know where the Thief ends and the Heroe begins.

Muſt little Villains then ſubmit to Fate,
That great Ones may enjoy the World in State?

Shall a poor Pickpocket be hanged for filching away a little looſe Money; and wholeſale Thieves, who rob Nations of all they have, be eſteemed and honoured? Shall a Roguery be ſanctified by the Greatneſs of it, and Impunity be purchaſed, by deſerving the higheſt Puniſhment? This is inverting the Nature of Things, confounding Vertue and Vice, and turning the World topſy turvy.

Men

Men who are advanced to great Stations, and are highly honoured and rewarded at the Publick Coſt, ought to look upon themſelves as Creatures of the Publick, as Machines erected and ſet up for Publick Emolument and Safety. They ought to reflect, that thouſands, ten thouſands of their Countrymen have equal, or perhaps greater Qualifications than themſelves, and that blind Fortune alone has given them their preſent Diſtinction: That the Eſtate of the Freeholder, the Hazard of the Merchant, and the Sweat of the Labourer, all contribute to their Greatneſs; and when once they can ſee themſelves in this Mirrour, they will think nothing can be too grateful, nothing too great or too hazardous, to be done for ſuch Benefactors.

They will conſider that no uncommon Application, or diſtinguiſhing Abilities will juſtify this Superiority; that many of their Fellow Subjects, poſſeſſing equal Merit, take much more Pains for much leſs Conſiderations; nay, that the Buſineſs of their own Employments is moſtly executed by inferior Officers for ſmall Rewards; and conſequently, their great Appointments are given to ſecure their Fidelity, and put them far above, and out of the Reach of Bribery and Corruption: They ought not to have a Thought which is mean or little: Their Minds are not to be in the Dirt, whilſt their Heads are in the Clouds: They ought to infuſe and inſpire Vertue, Reſolution, and publick Spirit into the inactive Maſs, and be illuſtrious Examples of every great and noble Quality.

But

But if they can ſink ſo low beneath themſelves; if they can ſo far deſcend from the Dignity of their Characters; if they can chuſe ſo to grovel upon the Earth, when they may aſcend to the Heavens; and be ſo poor and abject, as to combine and confederate with Pickpockets and common Rogues; betray their moſt ſolemn Truſts, and employ all their Power and Credit to deſtroy that People, whom they have every Motive, which Heaven and Earth can ſuggeſt, to protect and defend: Then, I ſay, ſuch Wretches ought to be the Scorn and Deteſtation of every honeſt Man; and new Kinds of Vengeance, new Tortures, and new Engines of Miſery ought to be invented, to make their Puniſhments as much exceed common Puniſhments, as their Crimes exceed thoſe of the worſt ſort of common Malefactors, and as their Rewards ſurpaſs thoſe of the beſt and worthieſt Citizens in other Stages of Life and Circumſtances of Fortune.

There is no Analogy between the Crimes of private Men, and thoſe of publick Magiſtrates: The firſt terminate in the Death or Sufferings of ſingle Perſons; the others ruin Millions, ſubvert the Policy and Oeconomy of Nations, and create general Want, and its Conſequences, Diſcontents, Inſurrections, and Civil Wars at Home, and often make them a Prey to watchful Enemies Abroad. But amongſt the Crimes which regard a State, *Peculatus*, or robbing the Publick, is the greateſt; becauſe upon the careful and frugal Adminiſtration of the publick Treaſure, the very Being of the Commonwealth depends. It is what my Lord *Coke* calls it,

tutela

tutela pacis & firmamentum belli: And the embezling it is Death by the Civil Law, and ought to be ſo by all Laws. It is the worſt ſort of Treaſon, as it draws all other ſorts of Treaſon after it: It diſconcerts all the Meaſures of Government, and lays the Groundwork of Seditions, Rebellions, and all Kind of publick Miſeries.

But theſe, as well as all other Crimes which affect the Publick, receive their Aggravation according to the Greatneſs of the Perſons who commit them; not only as their Rewards are larger, and their Temptations leſs, but as their Example recommends, and, as it were, authorizes and gives a Licence to Wickedneſs. No one dares to puniſh another for an Offence, which he knows, and the other knows, that he every Day commits himſelf. One Great Man, who gets an hundred thouſand Pounds by cheating the Publick, muſt wink and connive at an hundred others who ſhall wrong it of ten thouſand Pounds each; and they at ten times as many more, who ſhall defraud it of a thouſand; and ſo on in leſſer Progreſſion, till the greateſt Part of the Publick Revenue is ſwallow'd and devoured by great and little Plunderers.

It is therefore of the utmoſt Importance to the Security and Happineſs of any State, to puniſh in the moſt exemplary manner, all thoſe who are intruſted by it, and betray that Truſt: It becomes the Wiſdom of a Nation, to give ten thouſand Pounds to purchaſe a Head, which cheats it of Sixpence: *Valerius Maximus* calls *Severity, the ſure Preſerver and Avenger of Liberty:* It is as neceſſary for the preventing of Tyranny,

as

as for the Support of it. After the Death of the Sons of *Brutus*, executed by the Command of their own Father, and in his Preſence, we hear no more of any Conſpirators in *Rome* to reſtore the *Tarquins*; and had *Marius*, *Cæſar*, and other Corrupters of the People met with the ſame Puniſhment, that glorious Commonwealth might have ſubſiſted to this Day. Lenity to great Crimes is an Invitation to greater; whereas Deſpair of Pardon, for the moſt part, makes Pardon uſeleſs: If no Mercy were ſhewn to the Enemies of the State, no State would be overturned; and if ſmall or no Puniſhment is inflicted upon them, no State can be ſafe.

Happy, happy had it been for this unhappy People, if theſe important and eſſential Maxims of Government had been duly regarded by our Legiſlators at the *Revolution*; and I wiſh too, the ſincere and hearty Endeavours of our preſent Legiſlators to puniſh the Betrayers of the late unfortunate Queen had met the deſir'd Succeſs; for I doubt all our Misfortunes have flowed from theſe Sources, and are owing to theſe Diſappointments.

All *Europe* ſaw, and all good Men in it lamented to ſee, a mighty Nation brought to the Brink of Deſtruction by weak and contemptible Inſtruments; its Laws ſuperſeded, its Courts of Juſtice corrupted, its Legiſlature laid aſide, its Liberties ſubverted, its Religion overturned, and a new one almoſt introduced, and a violent and deſpotick Government aſſumed, which was ſupported by Legions and an armed Force: They ſaw this brave People

riſe

riſe under the Oppreſſion, and like *Antæus* gather Strength by their Fall: They called for the Aſſiſtance of the next Heir to the Crown to avenge himſelf and them; and when they had by his Aſſiſtance removed the Uſurpation, rewarded him with the preſent Poſſeſſion of the Crown: But when they had all the deſired Succeſs, and ſubdued all they had fought with, they ſoon found that, by the Treachery and Corruption of their Leaders, they had loſt all that they had fought for.

Inſtead of compleating their Deliverance, and puniſhing the Authors of their Calamities, and ſacrificing them to the Manes of their once loſt Liberties; upon the moſt diligent Search, there was not a guilty Perſon to be found; not one who had contributed to their Misfortunes. Three Kingdoms had been undone by Male-Adminiſtration, and no Body had a Hand in it. This Tergiverſation gave freſh Heart and Courage to the deſpairing Faction: Some imputed it to Weakneſs and Fear; others to a Conciouſneſs of Guilt for what we had done; and all cried out aloud, if there were no Criminals, there could be no Crimes; whilſt all honeſt Men ſtood amazed and covered with Shame and Confuſion at theſe Proceedings.

All the while our new Betrayers riotted in their Sun-ſhine, laugh'd at the unſeaſonable Simplicity and Folly of a few Whimſicals, who did not know what a Revolution was good for: They would not make a Rod for themſelves; On the contrary, numberleſs were their Projects and Stratagems to amaſs Riches and increaſe

creaſe their Power. They encouraged and protected a general Prodigality and Corruption, and ſo brought the Kingdom into the greateſt Neceſſities, and then took Advantage of thoſe Neceſſities: They got publick Money into their Hands, and then lent that Money to the Publick again for great Premiums, and at great Intereſt, and afterwards ſquandred it away to make Room for new Projects: They made Bargains for themſelves, by borrowing in one Capacity what they lent in another; and by a Uſe of their prior Intelligence, and Knowledge of their own Intentions, they wholly governed the National Credit, and raiſed and depreſſed it at their Pleaſure, and as they ſaw their Advantage; by which Means they beggar'd the People, and mortgaged all the Lands and the Stock of the Kingdom, tho' not (like the righteous *Joſeph*) to their Maſter, but to themſelves.

Thus the *Revolution* and the Principles of Liberty ran backwards again. The baniſh'd *Tarquin* conceived new Hopes, and made new Attempts for a Reſtoration; all who had ſhared in the Benefits of the former wicked Adminiſtration; all thoſe who had ever been the avow'd Enemies to an equal Government and impartial Liberty; all the grim Inquiſitors, who had aſſumed an uncontroulable Sovereignty over the free and ungovernable Mind, who have ever pretended a divine Right to Roguery; united in his Intereſt: With theſe joined the Riotous, the Debauch'd, the Neceſſitous, the poor deluded Bigots, as well as all ſuch as had not received Rewards equal to their fancied Merit, and could not bear to ſee

others

others revel in Advantages, which their own Ambition and Covetouſneſs had before ſwallowed for themſelves.

This formidable Party combined againſt the new eſtabliſh'd Government, made Earnings of the Miſcarriages and Corruptions of thoſe Miſcreants, who by their vile and mercenary Conduct betrayed the beſt Prince and beſt Cauſe in the World, and ſeveral Times had almoſt overturned the new reſtored Liberty; but that the Gratitude and perſonal Love of the People to that great Prince, and the freſh and lively Remembrance of the Evils they had ſuffered, or had been like to have ſuffered, from the abdicated Family, ſtill preſerved him upon the Throne, in ſpight of all Attempts to the contrary. However, proper Advantages were not taken, neither in this nor the following Reign, from the many Defeats of this reſtleſs Faction, which might have ſettled the *Revolution* upon ſuch a Baſis, as not to be ſhaken but together with the Foundations of the Earth. There was always a Lion in the Way: The Figure, or the Number of the Conſpirators, or the Difficulty of Diſcovery, or their Intereſt, Alliance, or Confederacy with Men in Power, were the Reaſons whiſpered; but the true one was concealed, namely, that one guilty Perſon durſt not heartily proſecute another: The Criminals had Stories to tell, Secrets not fit to be divulged; for an innocent and virtuous Man alone dares undertake to bring a great Villain to deſerved Puniſhment: None but a *Brutus* could have deſtroyed *Brutus*'s Sons.

Nothing

Nothing was ever done to rectify or regulate the Education of Youth, the Source of all our other Evils; but Schools of Literature were ſuffered to continue under the Direction of the Enemies to all ſound Literature and publick Virtue: Liberty, being deſerted by her old Friends, fell of Courſe into the Hands of her Enemies, and ſo Liberty was turned upon Liberty: By theſe Means, the Diſcontents were fomented, the Evils ſtill encreaſed, and the Conſpirators ſtill went on. They had now got new Tools to work with, juſt forged, and ſent glowing hot from the Univerſities: A new Generation aroſe and appeared upon the publick Stage, who had never ſeen or felt the Misfortunes which their Fathers groaned under, nor believed more of them than what they had learned from their Tutors: So that all Things ſeemed prepared for a new Revolution, when we were ſurprized by a Voice from Heaven, which promiſed us another Deliverance.

We have at laſt, by the bounteous Gift of indulgent Providence, a moſt excellent King, and a wiſe and uncorrupt Parliament; and yet ——— But what ſhall I ſay, or what ſhall be left unſaid? ——— I will go on. —— We have a Prince, I ſay, who is poſſeſſed of every Virtue which can grace and adorn a Crown; a Parliament too, than whom *England* has never choſen one better diſpoſed to do all thoſe Things, which every honeſt Man in it wiſhed, and called for, and yet ——— by the Iniquity of the Times, or the Iniquities of particular Men,

Men, we are ſtill to expect our Deliverance, though I hope we ſhall not expect it long.

Publick Corruptions and Abuſes have grown upon us; Fees in moſt, if not in all Offices, are immenſely increaſed: Places and Employments, which ought not to be ſold at all, are ſold for treble Values: The Neceſſities of the Publick have made greater Impoſitions unavoidable, and yet the Publick has run very much in Debt; and as thoſe Debts have been encreaſing, and the People growing poor, Salaries have been augmented, and Penſions multiplied: I mean in the laſt Reign, for I hope there have been no ſuch Doings in this.

Our common Rogues now ſcorn little Pilferings, and in the Dark; 'tis all publick Robbery, and at Noon Day; nor is it, as formerly, for ſmall Sums, but for the Ranſom of Kings, and the Pay of Armies: Figures of Hundreds and Thouſands have loſt their Uſe in Arithmetick: Plumbs alone are thought worth gathering; and they no longer ſignify Hundreds of Thouſands, but Millions: One Great Man, who is ſaid in a former Reign to have plundered a Million and a Half, has made his Succeſſors think as much to be their Due too: Poſſeſſion of great Sums is thought to give a Title to thoſe Sums; and the Wealth of Nations is meaſured out and divided amongſt private Men, not (as by the *Weſt-India* Pyrates) with Shovels, but by Waggons.

The Dregs of the People and the Scum of the Alley can buy *Italian* and *German* Sovereigns out of their Territories; and their Levees have been lately crowded with Swarms of dependent

dent Princes, like *Roman* Conſuls, and *Eaſtern* Monarchs; and I am told, that ſome of them have been ſeen aſcending to, and deſcending from their Chariots, while they leaned upon the Necks of proſtrate Grandees. Oh Liberty! ſtop thy Flight. Oh Virtue! be ſomething more than a Name and empty Sound: Return, oh return! and inſpire and aſſiſt our illuſtrious Legiſlators in the great Work they have ſo generouſly undertaken: Aſſiſt, aſſiſt, if it be but to ſave thoſe who have always devoutly worſhipped thee, and have paid conſtant Incenſe at thy Altars.

But what ſhall be done? Where is the Remedy for all theſe Evils? We hope for it, we expect it, we ſee it; and we call for it, from the healing Hands of our moſt gracious King, and his dutiful Parliament. There is a Criſis in the Health of Governments, as well as of private Perſons. When Diſtempers are at the worſt, they muſt mend, or the Patient dies: And when the Caſe is deſperate, bold and reſolute Methods muſt be taken, or he will be ſuffered to die for fear of his dying. —— What then is the Remedy? —— We muſt begin with letting out ſome of our adulterate and corrupt Blood, one Drop of which is enough to contaminate the Ocean: We muſt firſt take full Vengeance of all thoſe we can diſcover to be guilty, and uſe them as Citizens do Shoplifters; that is, make thoſe who are caught, pay for all that is ſtolen. Let us not, Oh, let us not ſuffer the Sins of all *Iſrael* to be at this Time of Day laid upon the Head of the Scape-Goat.

When

When we have taken this firſt and neceſſary Step to prevent an Apoplexy or malignant Eruptions, let us preſcribe ſtrong Emeticks, proper Sudorificks, and effectual Purgatives, to bring up or throw off the noxious Juices and morbifick Matter that oppreſſes us, and ſo wholly to eradicate the Cauſes of our Diſtemper. But above all, and for the Sake of all, let us avoid the beginning with Lenitives and palliating Medicines, which will only cover and foment our Evils, make them break out more violently, and at laſt perhaps turn into dangerous Swellings and epidemical Plague-Sores, and by ſuch Means ſpread a general Infection: Let us not ſuffer any of our great or little Rogues to eſcape publick Vengeance.

When we have, by theſe vigorous Methods, removed the peccant Humours which are the Springs and Sources of our Diſtemper, let us uſe proper Applications, gentle Remedies, and wholſome Diet, to correct and rectify the Maſs of remaining Blood, to invigorate and renew our Conſtitution, reſtore it to its firſt Principles, and make it ſound and active again: Let us ſee where it abounds, and where it wants, and whether the ſanguine, the phlegmatick, or the bilious predominates, and reduce them all to a proper Ballance: Let us look back and examine ſtrictly, by what Neglect, by what Steps and Gradations of Intemperance or Folly, we are brought into the preſent Condition, and reſolve to avoid them for the future.

Let us try no more Projects, no more knaviſh Experiments; let us have no more Quack-

ing, no more to do with Empericks. Let us act openly and above-board for the Publick Intereſt, and not hang out falſe Colours to catch unwary Preys. Let us plainly tell at firſt what we mean, and all we mean: If 'tis honeſt and advantageous, every good Man will defend it, and aſſiſt in it; if otherwiſe, it ought not to be defended at all.

This is the Way, and the only Way, to preſerve and long continue the ineſtimable Bleſſing of our preſent Eſtabliſhment: Let the People ſee the Benefit of the Change, and there is no Fear that they will be againſt their own Intereſt; but State Quacks may harangue and ſwear till they are black in the Face, before they will perſwade any one to believe that he is in perfect Health, who feels himſelf ſick at Heart. Men in ſuch Circumſtances are always reſtleſs, always tumbling about from Side to Side, and changing every Poſture for preſent Eaſe, and ſo often bring Death upon themſelves, by trying prepoſterous Remedies to avoid it.

I am, &c.

To the Author of the London Journal,

John Ketch, *Esq*; *sendeth Greeting.*

SIR,

IN a general Call for Juſtice from an injur'd Nation, I beg leave to put in my Voice, being my ſelf an eminent Sufferer in the ill Fate of my Country, which no otherwiſe gains than as I do, by the Exaltation of Rogues. Our Intereſts, in this Reſpect, are the ſame. And as it would be very hard that the Bloodſuckers of the People ſhould not make the People ſome Amends, by reſtoring the Blood they have ſuck'd; ſo it would be as hard that I, who am the Finiſher of Juſtice, ſhould not have Juſtice done me.

From my beſt Obſervation upon publick Affairs, laſt Summer, I promiſed my ſelf that I ſhould certainly have full Hands this laſt Winter; I therefore applied my ſelf with ſingular Diligence to gain the utmoſt Perfection and Skill in the Calling wherein God and the Law hath placed me: For, I did not think it at all laudable, or agreeable to a good Conſcience, to accept a Poſt, without proper Talents and Experience, to execute the ſame; however cuſtomary and common ſuch a Practice might be: And therefore, without preſuming to follow the illuſtrious Example of my Betters, in

this Matter, I thought it became me to become my Poſt. In truth, Sir, if this Maxim had prevailed, where it ſhould have prevailed; and if my Brethren in Place had as well underſtood, and as honeſtly executed, their ſeveral Truſts, as I do mine, we ſhould have had a very different Face of Things, nor would I have had Occaſion for Journeymen.

Thus, Sir, I was firmly and honeſtly reſolved that the Excution of Juſtice ſhould not ſtick with me, where-ever elſe it ſtuck. Moreover, at a Time when every Thing, but Honeſty, bore a double Price, I bought up a great Quantity of Silken Halters, for the ſole Uſe and Benefit of any of our topping Pickpockets, who ſhould be found to have noble or genteel Blood about them. N. B. This Complement was not intended for the Directors, who muſt expect to wear the ſame valedictory Cravat which is worn by ſmall Felons, who come under my Hands, every Seſſion: But I have ſet apart a good round Quantity of theſe delicate ſilken Turnovers for the Benefit and Decoration of divers worthy Gentlemen, whom I have mark'd out for my Cuſtomers in the ——; but whom it would not be good Breeding in me, as yet, to name; but I hope they will prove rare Chaps.

I did likewiſe beſpeak, at leaſt, a Dozen curious Axes, ſpick and ſpan new, with rare ſteel Edges; the fitteſt that could be made, for dividing nobly betwixt the Head and the Shoulders of any dignified and illuſtrious Cuſtomer of mine, who has, either by Birth or by Place, a Right to die at the Eaſt End of the Town.

Now,

Now, Sir, it unluckily happens, that I cannot pay for any of the Implements of National Juſtice, and of my Trade, till I have uſed them: And my Creditors, though they own me to be an honeſt Man, yet wanting Faith in all publick Officers, begin to fear that I ſhall never pay for them at all. It is, in truth, a ſenſible Diſcouragement to them and me, that I have had ſo little to do this Winter, when there appeared ſo much to be done in my Way. Sure never poor deſerving Hangman had ſuch a ſhameful Vacation.

As having a Poſt, I have conſequently the Honour of being a true Member of the Church of *England*, as by Law eſtabliſhed; and therefore under theſe Diſappointments I comfort my ſelf with ſome Patience, and more Beer. I have beſides that, this further Conſolation, that if our Canary Birds find Wings to eſcape me, neither the Blame nor the Shame ſhall lie at my Door.

You ſee, Sir, I have Merit, and yet you ſee I labour under Diſcouragements enough to ſcare any Succeſſor of mine from accepting this neglected and pennileſs Poſt, till he has a ſufficient Sum of Money in Hand paid, and a good Penſion for Life, as is uſual upon leſs Occaſions, together with ample Proviſion for his Children after him.

But, in ſpight of all theſe Diſcouragements, I am determined to live in Hopes of ſome topping Cuſtomers before the Seſſion is ended. The Publick and I muſt certainly get at laſt: God knows we have been eminent Sufferers; we have been defrauded on every Side.

Being bred a Butcher, I can comfort my ſaid Cuſtomers with an Aſſurance, that I have a delicate and ready Hand at cutting and tying; ſo let them take Heart, the Pain is nothing, and will be ſoon over; I am only ſorry 'tis ſo long a coming: No Man can be pleaſed with being defrauded of his juſt Dues.

I have one Conſolation, Sir, which never leaves me, namely, that tho' my Poſt has not been ſo profitable a one as for ſome time paſt it ſhould have been, yet it has been a ſafe one. I doubt not but many of my Brethren in Place would be glad if they could ſay as much. I am moreover of Opinion, That my Poſt has for a Year paſt been one of the moſt honeſt and creditable Poſts in *England*; nor would I change Circumſtances or Character with ſome that hold their Heads very high, and may hold them higher ſtill before I have done with them. I am ſure it cannot be denied, that the Hangman of *London* has for the above Space of Time been a reputable Officer, in compariſon —— The Truth is, they have got more Money than I, but I have more Reputation than they; and I hope ſoon to go Snacks with ſome of them in their Money

I know that Knaves of State require a great deal of Form and Ceremony before they are commited to my Care; ſo that I am not much ſurprized that I have not yet laid my Hands upon certain exalted Criminals. I hope however when they come, a good Number will come at once. But there is a Parcel of notorious and ſorry Sinners, called *Brokers*; Fellows of ſo little Conſequence, that few of them have

have Reputation enough to ſtand Candidates for my Place, were the ſame vacant, (which God forbid!) and yet Rogues ſo ſwoln with Guilt, that poor *Derwentwater* and *Kenmure* (my two laſt Cuſtomers) were Babes and petty Larceners to them. Now theſe are the Hang-Rogues I would be keeping my Hand in uſe with.

Sir, I have been with Counſel about them, and my Lawyer ſtands amazed that I have not had them already: "But, *ſays he*, Mr. *Ketch*, "I foreſaw that the Brokers were only the "Pimps of great Rogues, who were themſelves the Pimps of greater: So that were "theſe Vermin to go up to *Tyburn*, they would "draw many more after them, who would "likewiſe draw others — So, depend upon it, "the Lyon, if he can, will ſave the Jackall: "And hence it proceeds, Mr. *Ketch*, that tho' "it is hard, yet it is not ſtrange, that thoſe "Rogues, whom all Men wiſh in your Hands, "are not yet there."

He then told me how the Brokers have violated that Act of Parliament, which allows them but Two and Ninepence for tranſacting a Hundred Pounds Stock, by taking or rather exacting twenty Shillings, and ſometimes five Pounds. I hope, when I come to ſtrip them, or to commute for ſtripping them, I ſhall be allowed to mete out to them the ſame Meaſure.

He told me likewiſe, that during the Reign of Roguery, they ſold for no body but the Directors, and their Betters; whereas they were obliged in Duty to have ſold for all Men alike,

who employed them. Their Office is an Office of Truſt, as well as that of the Directors. They act, or ought to act, under the Reſtrictions of an Act of Parliament, under the ſacred Obligation of an Oath, and under Ties and Penalties of a Bond; by all which they are obliged to diſcharge their Duty impartially betwixt Man and Man, and for one Man as ſoon as another. Now it is well known that they broke their Truſt to the Publick; that they ceaſed to be common and indifferent Officers in the Alley; and yet retaining the Name and Pretence of their Office, (by which they alſo retained the Power of deceiving,) they became only Spies and Lyars for the Directors and their Managers, and Sellers for them only. They were therefore Criminals of the firſt Claſs, and principal Agents in the publick Miſchief; for, had they not acted thus for one Side alone, the Directors could not have ſold out much at high Prices, nor would others have bought in at thoſe Prices: So that they are to be conſidered not only as the Inſtruments of greater Traytors, tho' in that Character they are liable to be hanged; but as wilful and deliberate Confederates with thoſe Traytors; and conſequently, merit every Puniſhment, which thoſe higher Traytors merit.

My Counſel ſaid too, That there were ſome Crimes of ſo high and malignant a Nature, that, in the Perpetration of them, all Acceſſaries were conſidered as Principals; That thoſe who held a Man till he was murdered, were Murderers; That thoſe who voluntarily held a Candle to others, who robbed a Houſe, were them-

themſelves Robbers; and that in committing of Treaſon, all are Traytors who have had a Hand in that Treaſon.

He ſaid, That the Brokers were free Agents, independent of all Companies, and no more attach'd, in point of Duty, to the *South-Sea*, than to any other; That being *ſui juris* (as he called it) they could not excuſe their wicked Dealings by the pretended Commands and Authority of any Superiors, as ſome of the *South-Sea* Officers might plead, for that the Directors were not their Superiors; That their Rogueries therefore were voluntary and deliberate Rogueries; and that having wilfully ſinned with the Directors, they ought in Juſtice to ſuffer with the Directors, and hang with them.

He told me, That having Share of the Gain of Villainy with the Directors, they ought to have their Share of the Halter too. They tranſacted great Sums for themſelves; tho' the Law, which eſtabliſh'd them, enacts, That they ſhall neither Buy nor Sell for themſelves; which is highly reaſonable; for how can any Man tranſact honeſtly for another, whilſt he is ſelling to him his own Stock?

He ſaid, They deceived every Man into his own Ruin, and ruin'd the Nation to enrich the Directors and themſelves: They ſold their own Stock, and that of the Directors, under falſe and fictitious Names, contrary to the Obligation of their Bond to the City, which obliges them to declare the Name of the Seller to the Buyer, as well as the Name of the Buyer to the Seller; for they knew that no Man would have been willing to buy, had he known that the

Brokers and Directors were in haſte to ſell. Thus they uſed falſe Dice, and blinded Men's Eyes to pick their Pockets. "And ſurely, "*Mr. Ketch, ſays the Counſellor*, if he who "picks a Man's Pocket is to be hanged, the "Rogues that pick the Pockets of the whole "Country, ought to be hanged, drawn, and "quartered.

But what was moſt remarkable of all in what the Counſellor told me, and what indeed gives me moſt Heart, is, that unleſs the Brokers are hanged, it will be ſcarce poſſible any Body elſe ſhould be hanged. If this be true, their Doom is certain, and I ſhall be able to ſupport my Squireſhip before *Eaſter*. For, ſurely we ſhall never ſave mighty Knaves, for the Sake of ſaving little ones; and if ſo be it is determined to gratify the Nation with a competent Store of Hanging and Beheading, certainly we muſt do every thing neceſſary thereunto.

"Now, *ſays my Counſel*, if the Brokers do "not diſcover the Secrets which they beſt "know, but which they will never diſcover, "if they can ſave their Necks and Purſes with-"out doing it; then, I doubt me, Juſtice will be "impotent for want of Evidence. But, if they "find that they can ſave nothing by their Si-"lence, they will tell all to ſave ſomething. "They are hardened Rogues, and by falſe "Oaths, and under-hand Dealing, will ſkreen "all that are as bad as themſelves; but gripe "them well, and ten to one but you ſqueeze "the Truth out of them.

"For all which Reaſons, Mr. *Ketch*, *(con-"tinued he)* I hope ſoon to give you Joy of the

"Brokers

" Brokers, as well as of better Cuſtomers"—— And ſo he diſmiſs'd me, without taking a Fee; for, he told me, he conſider'd me as an eminent Sufferer, by having as yet got Nothing, where he wiſh'd I had, before this Time, got a great deal.

This, Sir, is the Subſtance of what paſſed between us, for which I am ſo much obliged to him, that if ever he falls in my way, I'll uſe him with the like Generoſity; and I will owe you, Mr. *Journaliſt*, the ſame Favour, if you'll be ſo kind to publiſh this.

If you knew me, Sir, you would own that I have valuable Talents, and am worth your Acquaintance. I am particularly poſſeſſed of a praiſe-worthy Induſtry, and an ardent Deſire of Buſineſs——In truth, I care not to be idle; and yet it cruelly happens, that I have but one buſy Day in ſix Weeks, and even then I could do twice as much. Beſides, having a tender Heart, it really affects me with Pity, to be obliged to ſtrangle ſo many Innocents every Seſſions; poor harmleſs Offenders, that only commit Murders, and break open Houſes, and rob Men of Guineas and Half-Crowns; while wholeſale Plunderers, and mighty Rogues of Prey, the avowed Enemies and Hangmen of Honeſty, Trade, and Truth, the known Promoters of Villainy, and the mercileſs Authors of Miſery, Want, and general Ruin, go on to ride in Coaches and Six, and to defy a People whom they have made poor and deſperate; potent Parricides, who have plundered more from this Kingdom in Six Months, than all the private Thieves and Highwaymen ever did, or could do, ſince the Creation. Sir,

Sir, I repeat it, that the hanging of ſuch poor Felons only, as things now ſtand, is comparatively ſhedding innocent Blood: And ſo, for the Eaſe of my Mind, I beg that I may have thoſe ſent me, whom I may truſs up with a ſafe Conſcience. My Teeth particularly water, and my Bowels yearn, at the Name of the Brokers; for God's ſake, let me have the Brokers.

Upon the whole, Sir, I have Reaſon to hope from the preſent Spirit raiſed in the Nation, (and, they ſay, it is in a great Meaſure owing to you, that there is ſuch a Spirit raiſed;) I ſay, I hope ſoon to have the fingering of the Throats of theſe Traitors, who have finger'd all the Money in the Nation. Their own Guilt, and the inceſſant Cry of the People, will weigh them down, in ſpite of all Arts and Skreens. *N. B.* I have a nice Hand at touching a Neck of Quality; and when any ſuch Cuſtomers come, I ſhall be ready to give you Joy of it, as well as to receive the like from you.

Who am, Sir,

Your Loving Friend,

JOHN KETCH.

SIR,

SIR,

FRom the preſent Spirit of this Nation, it is ſtill further evident to me, what I have always thought, that the People would conſtantly be in the Intereſts of Truth and Liberty, were it not for external Deluſion and external Force. Take away Terror, and Men never would have been Slaves: Take away Impoſture, and Men will never be Dupes nor Bigots. The People when they are in the Wrong, are generally in the Wrong thro' Miſtake; and when they come to know it, are apt frankly to correct their own Faults. Of which Candor in them *Machiavel* has given ſeveral Inſtances, and many more might be given.

But it is not ſo with Great Men, and the Leaders of Parties; who are, for the moſt part, in the Wrong thro' Ambition, and continue in the Wrong thro' Malice. Their Intention is wicked, and their End criminal; and they commonly aggravate great Crimes by greater. As great Dunces as the Governors of Mankind often are, (and God knows they are often great enough,) they are never Traytors out of meer Stupidity.

Machiavel ſays, *That no wiſe Man needs decline the Judgment of the People in the Diſtribution of Offices and Honours, and ſuch particular Affairs,* (in which I ſuppoſe he includes Puniſhment) *for in thoſe Things they are almoſt infallible.*

I could

I could give many Inſtances wherein the People of *England* have judged and do judge right; as they always would, were they not miſled. They are, particularly, unanimous in their Opinion, That we ought by no Means to part with *Gibraltar*; and this their Opinion is grounded upon the ſame Reaſons that ſway the wiſeſt Men in this Matter.

They likewiſe know, That an *Engliſh* War with *Muſcovy*, would be downright Madneſs; for that, whatever Advantage the ſame might be to other Countries, it would grievouſly hurt the Trade and Navy of *England*, without hurting the Czar.

They know too, That a Squabble between *Spain* and the Emperor about *Italy*, could not much affect *England*; and that therefore were we to go to War with either, upon that Account, as Things now ſtand, it could not be for the Sake of *England*.

They know, That our Men of War might be always as honeſtly employed in defending our Trade, by which our Country ſubſiſts, from the Depredations of Pyrates, as in conquering Kingdoms for thoſe, to whom the Nation is nothing obliged, or in defending Provinces with which the Nation has nothing to do, and from which it reaps no Advantages.

They know, That it is of great Concernment to any People, that the Heir Apparent to their Crown be bred amongſt them; not only that he may be reconciled, by Habit, to their Cuſtoms and Laws, and grow in Love with their Liberties; but that at his Acceſſion to the Throne, he may not be engroſſed and beſet by

Foreign-

Foreigners, who will be always in the Intereſts of another Country, and conſequently will be attempting to miſlead him into Meaſures miſchievous to his Kingdom, and advantageous to themſelves, or their own Nation.

The People know, That thoſe are the beſt Miniſters, who do the moſt Good to their Country, or rather the leaſt Miſchief: They can feel Miſery and Happineſs, as well as thoſe that govern them; and will always, in ſpight of all Arts, love thoſe that do them a ſenſible Good, and abhor, as they ought, thoſe that load them with Evils. Hence proceeds the Popularity, and the great and unenvied Characters of our preſent Governors; who, beſides the memorable and proſperous Projects which they have brought to Maturity, for the Good of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, would likewiſe have obliged us with another Preſent, but very few Years ſince, which would have compleated all the reſt, if we had had the Courteſy to have accepted it.

It is certain, that the People, when left to themſelves, do generally, if not always, judge well; we have juſt now a glaring Inſtance of it in the loud and unanimous Call of all Men, that Mr. *Knight* may be brought over; I ſay, the Call of all Men, except the Directors and their Accomplices. Nay, the People judge well, as to the Cauſe of his going away; they more than gueſs for whoſe Sake, and by whoſe Perſuaſion, he went; and they are of Opinion that, were he here, the Trials of Guilt in the Houſe of Commons would be much ſhorter, and the *Tower* of *London* ſtill more nobly inhabited.

habited. I am indeed ſurprized that he is not already in *London*, conſidering of what Conſequence it is to have him here, both to publick and to private Men.

Whether the Directors and their Maſters ſhall be puniſhed or no, is to me one and the ſame Queſtion, as to ask, whether you will preſerve your Conſtitution or no, or whether you will have any Conſtitution at all? It is a Contention of Honeſty and Innocence with Villainy and Falſhood; it is a Diſpute whether or no you ſhall be a People; it is a Struggle, and, if it is baulk'd, will, in all probability, be the laſt Struggle for old *Engliſh* Liberty. All this is well underſtood by the People of *England*.

Now, tho' the inferior Knaves are in a fair way of being hang'd, yet our Top-Traytors, having tranſacted all their Villainies in the *South-Sea* with Mr. *Knight* alone, or with Mr. *Knight* chiefly, will think themſelves always ſafe, ſo long as they can keep him abroad; and while he continues abroad, the Nation's Vengeance can never be half compleat.

As to my own particular, I am ſo ſanguine in this Affair, that the very Reaſons commonly given why he will not be brought over, are to me very good Reaſons why he will be brought over: I cannot but wonder to hear any Doubts about it. I am ſure thoſe who ſuggeſt ſuch Doubts, muſt ſuggeſt with the ſame Breath very terrible Crimes againſt ſome very conſiderable Men.

The Buſineſs of bringing over Mr. *Knight* is become the Buſineſs of the Miniſtry, and incumbent

cumbent on them only. It is become their Duty to their Maſter King *GEORGE*, as they would preſerve entirely to him the Affections of a willing and contented People, by ſhewing them, that in Conſideration of their mighty Wrongs (which the ſaid Miniſtry did all in their Power to prevent) they ſhall have all fair Play for Juſtice and Reſtitution. And it is in this reſpect too become the Duty of the Miniſtry to the People, whoſe Humours it is their Buſineſs to watch, and whoſe Intereſt it is their Buſineſs to ſtudy, as much as the Intereſt of the King himſelf; and it muſt be owned to the Praiſe of the preſent Set, that they have conſtantly conſulted and purſued the one as much as the other, with equal Skill and Honeſty; and ſo far King and People are equally obliged to them.

As to the perſonal Intereſts of the Miniſters themſelves I ſay nothing, the ſame being ſuppoſed always firmly linked with the other two, as doubtleſs it is at preſent. Let me only add here, that the bringing over Mr. *Knight* is a Duty which they owe to themſelves, their own Characters being intimately concerned in it; otherwiſe——

People indeed begin to ſay, that the ſuppreſſing of Evidence ought to be taken for Evidence, as in the Caſe of Mr. *Aiſlabie*, who burn'd the Book which contained the Evidence. There is a noble Perſon too, ſaid to be mentioned in the Report of the Committee, not to his Advantage; but I thank God, now fully vindicated by Patriots as incorrupt as himſelf, upon the fulleſt Proof of his Innocence; and if his Acquittal did not meet the univerſal

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Concurrence of all present, it could be owing only to Mr. *Knight's* not being at hand to speak what he knew: Had he made his Appearance, there had never been a Division upon the Question, but all would have been then as unanimous in their Sentiments about that Great Man's Integrity and clean Hands, as all the rest of the Kingdom at present are: However, Reputation is so nice a Thing, that it cannot be made too clear; and therefore we are sure of the hearty Assistance of this illustrious Patriot to bring over Mr. *Knight*, if possible, to make his Vindication yet more compleat.

It is also the Interest of another Great Person, equal to the first in Power and Innocence, and who, without doubt, has taken common Measures with him for the Publick Good, and will equally share in the grateful Applause of good Men, and the Reproach of bad; for no Degrees of Virtue will put any one beyond the Reach of Envy and Calumny, and therefore we cannot be sure that his strenuous and barefaced Protection of innocent and oppressed Virtue will not be misinterpreted by popular Clamour, which misapplies often established and well-known Truths; as, that no one who has not Part of the Gain will adopt part of the Infamy; that it is the Property of Innocence to abhor Guilt in others, as well as not to practise the same itself, and to punish as well as to hate it; that no Man who is not a Thief, will be an Advocate for a Thief; that Rogues are best protected by their Fellows; and that the strongest Motive any Man can have for saving another from the Gallows, is the Fear of the

the ſame Puniſhment for the ſame Crimes: And tho' theſe and a thouſand other ſuch unwarrantable Imputations ought not, and have not made the leaſt Impreſſion upon one conſcious of his own Virtue; yet it is every Man's Duty, as well as Intereſt, to remove the moſt diſtant Cauſes of Suſpicion from himſelf, when he can do it conſiſtent with his publick Duty: and therefore we are equally ſure of this Great Man's Endeavours too for bringing over Mr. *Knight*.

Even ſome of our Legiſlators themſelves have not been free from Calumny, who are all concerned to have their Characters vindicated; and therefore we may be ſure, will, in the higheſt Manner, reſent any Prevarication, or trifling Chicane, if ſuch a Procedure could be poſſibly ſuppoſed in an Affair of this nice Importance to all *England*, as well as to many of themſelves.

Nay, the whole Parliament of *England*, who have generouſly undertaken the Scrutiny of the late black Knaveries, and the Puniſhment of the Knaves, are nearly concerned to ſee Mr. *Knight* brought over. They find, in their Enquiries, his Teſtimony often refer'd to, and that the Evidence is not compleat without him. They know already a good deal of what he could ſay; and I doubt not but he could ſay more than they know. They have once addreſs'd his Majeſty already about bringing him over; and I ſuppoſe will again, if he does not come ſpeedily. The Buſineſs of the whole Nation does, as it were, ſtand ſtill for it; ſeeing it is become the Buſineſs and Expectation of the whole Nation.

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As to Remoras from abroad, I cannot ſee Room for any——Quite otherwiſe; I always thought it very fortunate for *England*, that Mr. *Knight* fell into the Emperor's Hands; a Prince for whom we have done ſuch Mighty, ſuch Heroick Favours; for whom we conſumed our Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, for whom we guarantee'd *Italy*, for whom we preſerved and conquered Kingdoms; a Prince, in fine, for whoſe Service we have waſted Years, Fleets, and Treaſures: And can it be alledged or ſuppoſed, with the Appearance of common Senſe, that this great Prince, the ſtrict Friend, old Confederate and faſt Ally of *England*; a Prince who has been, as it were the Ward of *England*, and brought up in its Arms; ſupported by its Intereſt and Counſels, protected and aggrandiz'd by its Fleets and Armies, will, againſt all the Principles of good Policy, and againſt all the Ties of Gratitude and Honour, fly in the Face of his Friends and Benefactors, by refuſing to deliver up to this Nation and this King, a little Criminal, ſmall in his Character, but great in his Crimes, and of the utmoſt Conſequence to *England*, in the purſuit of this great Enquiry, which merits the Conſideration, and commands the Attention of every *Engliſhman*?

We could draw up a long, a very long Liſt of good Deeds done, and expenſive Favours ſhewn to the Emperor; without being afraid of being put out of Countenance by any *German* Catalogue of Returns made us from *Vienna*. Perhaps there may have been ſome Courteſies procured from thence by *England*; but we would ask, Whether they were intended

or

or procured for *England*? It ſeems to me, that this is the firſt Time of asking for our ſelves: And ſhall we, this firſt Time, be denied? Will ſuch an humble Mite be refuſed for Millions frankly beſtowed, and beſtowed beyond all Conjecture and Expectation? It cannot be; nor, if it could, ought it to be born. We know how to ſhew, that we have Senſe as well as Power, and Reſentment as well as Liberality.

The Emperor therefore cannot be ſuſpected in this Matter; I dare ſay he will comply with our Demands, as ſoon as they are made, whatever they be. He will not put ſuch Contempt upon us, who have purchaſed more Reſpect at his Hands. Beſides, it is confidently aſſerted, that Mr. *Knight* longs to be at Home; which I am apt to believe: He knows, that the kind Counſel given him, to go away, was not given him for his own Sake: And has Reaſon to fear, that thoſe who ſent him away, will keep him away. There is *Laudanum* in *Flanders*, as well as in *England*, and That or a Poignard may thwart his beſt Inclinations to return. If that ſhould happen, we are at Liberty to think the worſt; and, I doubt, we cannot think too bad. Unhappy Man! he was not a Knave for himſelf alone; and I am apt to believe, were he here, he would honeſtly betray thoſe Men to the Publick, for whom he wickedly betray'd the Publick.

Thus then, in all Likelihood, neither the Emperor nor Mr. *Knight* are to be blamed, if Mr. *Knight* does not return. But whether he is willing or no, the Emperor has no Right,

no

no Pretence to keep him. Who will then be to blame, if the univerſal Cry of Juſtice, and of the Nation, ſhould not have its Effect? The Queſtion is eaſy, were the Anſwer prudent to give. In Truth, there needs no Anſwer; all Mankind will know how to ſolve this Difficulty.

An honourable Meſſenger has been gone near Six Weeks, and yet the Commons have Occaſion to addreſs his Majeſty to know what Anſwer he has ſent. Wonderful, in a Caſe that is of ſo much Importance, and which requires ſo much Expedition, and ſo little Ceremony! I have ſometimes thought a Courier muſt needs have been diſpatch'd to *England* about it long ſince, but that he was way-laid, and murdered by our Conſpirators or their Agents, upon the Road. This may ſeem a ſtrange Fancy; but, without being very aged, I have lived long enough to think nothing ſtrange —— I have not been once amazed theſe Six Months!

In the mean time, the Buſineſs of the Committee, which is the Buſineſs of *Great Britain*, is like to ſtand ſtill. Thoſe Gentlemen have done their Duty; and if their Evidence is not compleat (which however they deny) the Fault is not chargable on them; but they are anſwerable, who keep them from better. This is a Reproach not like to be wiped off, but by bringing over Mr. *Knight*; and then, perhaps, they that deſerve it, may dread a far worſe Thing. Here is the Riddle, and the Solution of the Riddle —— There are thoſe amongſt us, who, cloathed as they were with Infamy, and curſed and deteſted by their Fellow-Creatures

tures univerſally, do yet dread a greater Evil. So precious and prevailing is the Love of Life! Continue me mine, ſweet Heaven, upon better Terms, or not at all.

I ſhall conclude, by repeating an Obſervation I have already made in this Letter, namely, that the ſuppreſſing the beſt Evidence, contains in it the ſtrongeſt Evidence; and thoſe Men will ſtill ſtand condemned, who, in Trials of Innocence and Guilt, ſtop the Mouths of their Judges, and deprive the Accuſers of their Witneſſes.

I am, &c.

SIR;

I Am going to preſent to you, and the Town by your Means, with the moſt valuable Performance of all Antiquity: It is not likely that it ever had, or ever will have, its Fellow. The Author of it was, perhaps, the moſt amiable Character, the moſt accompliſh'd Man, that ever the World ſaw.

Excellent Brutus! *of all Humane Race*
The Beſt! Cowley.

He was the Author of that glorious Letter which I now ſend you, in *Engliſh*. It was written by the greateſt Man upon the nobleſt Subject; *BRUTUS* upon LIBERTY. It was ſent to *Cicero*, and the Occaſion this:

Octavius

Octavius Cæsar, afterwards called *Auguſtus*, having defeated *Mark Anthony* before *Modena*, and by that means rais'd the Siege of that Place, began now to conceive higher Deſigns than he had yet ſhewn: He had hitherto declared for the Commonwealth, and ſeemed to act for it; the Senate having truſted him with an Army, by the Perſwaſion and Intereſt of *Cicero*. But after this Victory over *Anthony*, he began to ſet up for himſelf, and to meditate the Revenge of his Uncle, and Father by Adoption, *Julius Cæsar*; and finally, to pave himſelf a Way to abſolute Monarchy. He knew well that *Brutus* and *Caſſius* would never, while they liv'd, ſuffer him to poſſeſs what they would not ſuffer the firſt *Cæsar* to enjoy; and therefore, to ſucceed his Uncle, he muſt deſtroy them.

But *Cicero*, who equally lov'd and admir'd *Brutus*, and pretended to great Power over the Mind of the young *Cæsar*, undertook to write to him in Favour of the Patrons of Liberty, who ſlew his Uncle, to ſeek their Pardon; eſpecially a Pardon for *Brutus*, that he might return to *Rome*, and be there in Safety. This Letter of *Cicero*'s contained in it alſo Thanks to *Octavius* for his Services to the Republick, and was intirely unknown to *Brutus*; but being inform'd of it by *Atticus*, he took extreme Offence at this Step of *Cicero*'s, which ſeem'd to him a Confeſſion of Sovereignty in *Octavius*, by not only owning him Maſter of the Lives of the *Romans* in general, but of his too, who was the Deliverer of the *Romans*, and ſcorned to owe Life to *Octavius*.

Brutus

Brutus had another Spirit, and other Views: He remember'd the bold and free Words of the great *Cato*, his Uncle, to thoſe of his Friends, who offered to procure for him the Mercy of *Cæſar*, by throwing themſelves, on his Behalf, at *Cæſar*'s Feet —— *No, Gentlemen*, ſays *Cato*, *I ſcorn to be beholden to Tyranny. I am as free as* Cæſar; *and ſhall I owe my Life to him, who has no Right even to my Submiſſion!*

Brutus found Reaſon to reſent that *Cicero* ſhould, without his Knowledge, thus treat him as a Criminal, and *Cæſar* as a Sovereign, by begging of *Cæſar* Mercy for *Brutus*. That Reſentment gave Occaſion to this Letter; in which he treats *Octavius* as a raw Lad, and *Cicero* as a weak and fearful Man. The Reaſoning through the Whole, ſhews *Brutus* to have been animated by a moſt ſublime and glorious Spirit of Virtue and Liberty; and is ſo ſtupendiouſly ſtrong, that his Eloquence muſt have been great as his Soul; and yet that great Soul was not ſo dear to him as his Liberty.

I am, &c.

BRUTUS to *CICERO*.

"I Have ſeen, by the Favour of *Atticus*, that "Part which concerns me, in your Let- "ter to *Octavius*. The Affection you there "expreſs for my Perſon, and the Pains you "take for my Safety, are great; but they give "me no new Joy: Your kind Offices are be- "come as habitual for me to receive, as for "you to beſtow; and by your daily Words

" and Actions on my Behalf, I have daily In-
" ſtances of your generous Regard for my ſelf
" and my Reputation.

" However, all this hinders not but that
" the above-mention'd Article of your Letters
" to *Octavius*, pierced me with as ſenſible a
" Grief as my Soul is capable of feeling. In
" thanking him for his Services to the Repub-
" lick, you have choſen a Stile which ſhews
" ſuch Lowneſs and Submiſſion, as do but too
" clearly declare that you have ſtill a Maſter;
" and that the old Tyranny, which we thought
" deſtroyed, is revived in a new Tyrant.
" What ſhall I ſay to you upon this ſad Head?
" I am covered with Confuſion for your
" ſhameful Condition, but you have brought
" it upon your ſelf; and I cannot help ſhew-
" ing you to your ſelf in this wretched Cir-
" cumſtance.

" You have petitioned *Octavius* to have
" Mercy upon me, and to ſave my Life ——
" In this you intend my Good, but ſought my
" Miſery, and a Lot worſe than Death, by
" ſaving me from it; ſince there is no Kind
" of Death but is more eligible to me, than a
" Life ſo ſaved. Be ſo good to recollect a
" little the Terms of your Letter; and having
" weigh'd them as you ought, can you deny
" that they are conceived in the low Stile of
" an humble Petition from a Slave to his
" haughty Lord, from a Subject to a King?
" You tell *Octavius*, that you have a Requeſt
" to make him, and humbly hope he will
" pleaſe graciouſly to grant it; namely, to
" ſave thoſe Citizens who are eſteemed by

" Men

" Men of Condition, and beloved by the Peo-
" ple of *Rome*. This is your honourable Re-
" queſt; but what if he ſhould not grant it,
" but refuſe to ſave us? Can we be ſaved by
" no other Expedient? Certainly, Deſtruction
" it ſelf is preferable to Life by his Favour.

" I am not, however, ſo deſponding, as to
" imagine that Heaven is ſo offended with the
" *Roman* People, or ſo bent upon their Ruin,
" that you ſhould thus chuſe, in your Prayers,
" to apply rather to *Octavius*, than to the im-
" mortal Gods, for the Preſervation, I do not
" ſay of the Deliverers of the whole Earth,
" but even for the Preſervation of the meaneſt
" *Roman* Citizen. This is a high Tone to talk
" in, but I have Pleaſure in it: It becomes
" me to ſhew that I ſcorn to pray to thoſe
" whom I ſcorn to fear.

" Has then *Octavius* Power to ſave us, or
" deſtroy us? And while you thus own him
" to be a Tyrant, can you yet own your ſelf
" his Friend? And while you are mine, can
" you deſire to ſee me in *Rome*, and at the
" Mercy of an Uſurper? And yet, that this
" would be my Caſe, you avow, by imploring
" from a giddy Boy, my Permiſſion to return.
" You have been rendering him a World of
" Thanks, and making him many Compli-
" ments; pray how come they to be due to
" him, if he yet wants to be petition'd for
" our Lives, and if our Liberty depends upon
" his Sufferance? Are we bound to think it
" a Condeſcenſion in *Octavius*, that he chuſes
" theſe our Petitions ſhould rather be made to
" him than to *Anthony*? And are not ſuch

" low Supplications the proper Addreſſes to a " Tyrant? And yet ſhall we, who boldly de- " ſtroyed one, be ever brought baſely to ſup- " plicate another? And can we, who are the " Deliverers of the Commonwealth, deſcend " to ask what no Man ought to have it in his " Power to give?

" Conſider the mournful Effects of that " Dread and Deſpondency of yours, in our " publick Struggles; in which, however, you " have too many to keep you in Countenance. " The Commonwealth has been loſt, becauſe " it was given for loſt. Hence *Cæſar* was firſt " inſpired with the Luſt of Dominion; hence " *Mark Anthony*, not terrified by the Doom of " the Tyrant, pants and hurries on to ſucceed " him in his Tyranny; and hence this *Octa-* " *vius*, this green Uſurper, is ſtarted into ſuch " a Pitch of Power, that the Chiefs of the " Commonwealth, and the Saviours of their " Country muſt depend for their Breath, " upon his Pleaſure ——— Yes, we muſt owe " our Lives to the Mercy of a Minor, ſoftened " by the Prayers of aged Senators.

" Alas, we are no longer *Romans!* If we " were, the virtuous Spirit of Liberty would " have been an eaſy Over-match for the trai- " terous Attempts of the worſt of all Men " graſping after Tyranny; nor would even " *Mark Anthony*, the raſh and enterprizing " *Mark Anthony*, have been ſo fond of *Cæſar*'s " Power, as frighten'd by *Cæſar*'s Fate.

" Remember the important Character you " ſuſtain, and the great Poſt you have fill'd: " You are a Senator of *Rome*, and you have

" been

" been Conſul of *Rome*; you have defeated " Conſpiracies, and deſtroyed Conſpirators. " Is not *Rome* ſtill as dear to you as ſhe was? " Or, is your Courage and Vigilance leſs? " And is not the Occaſion greater? Or, could " you ſuppreſs great Traytors, and yet tolerate " greater? Recollect what you ought to do, " by what you have done. Whence proceed- " ed your Enmity to *Anthony*? Was it not " that he had an Enmity to Liberty, had " ſeized violently on the Publick, aſſumed " the Diſpoſal of Life and Death into his own " Hands, and ſet up for the ſole Sovereign of " all Men? Were not theſe the Reaſons of " your Enmity, and of your Advice to com- " bat Violence by Violence, and to kill him " rather than ſubmit to him? All this was " well —— But why muſt Reſiſtance be " drop'd, when there is a freſh Call for Re- " ſiſtance? Has your Courage fail'd you: or, " was it not permitted to *Anthony* to enſlave " us, but Another may? As if the Nature of " Servitude was changed by changing Names " and Perſons. No —— we do not diſpute " about the Qualifications of a Maſter; we " will have no Maſter.

" It is certain we might, under *Anthony*, " have gone large Shares with him in the Ad- " miniſtration of deſpotick Power; we might " have divided its Dignities, and ſhone in its " Trappings. He would have received us " graciouſly, and met us half way. He knew " that either our Concurrence or Acquieſcence " would have confirm'd him Monarch of *Rome*; " and at what Price would he not have pur-

" chaſed either ? But all his Arts, all his " Temptations, all his Offers were rejected ; " Liberty was our Purpoſe, and Virtue our " Rule : Our Views were honeſt and univer- " ſal ; Our Country, and the Cauſe of Man- " kind.

" With *Octavius* himſelf there is ſtill a Way " open for an Accommodation, if we choſe it. " As eager as the Name of *Cæſar* has made " that raw Stickler for Empire, to deſtroy " thoſe who deſtroy'd *Cæſar* ; yet doubtleſs he " would give us good Articles, to gain our " Conſent to that Power to which he aſpires, " and to which, I fear, he will arrive : Alas, " what is there to hinder him ? While we " only attend to the Love of Life, and the " Impulſes of Ambition ; while we can pur- " chaſe Poſts and Dignities with the Price of " Liberty, and think Danger more dreadful " than Slavery ; what remains to ſave us ?

" What was the End of our killing the Ty- " rant, but to be free from Tyranny ? —— " A ridiculous Motive, and an empty Exploit, " if our Slavery ſurvives him ! —— Oh, " who is it that makes Liberty his Care ? " Liberty, which ought to be the Care of all " Men, as 'tis the Benefit and Bleſſing of all ! " For my ſelf, rather than give it up, I will " ſtand ſingle in its Defence. I cannot loſe, " but with my Life, my Reſolution to main- " tain in Freedom my Country, which I have " ſet free : I have deſtroyed a Veteran Tyrant ; " and ſhall I ſuffer, in a raw Youth, his Heir, " a Power to controul the Senate, ſuperſede " the Laws, and put Chains on *Rome* ? A

" Power,

" Power, which no perſonal Favours, nor even
" the Ties of Blood, could ever ſanctify to
" me; a Power, which I could not bear in
" *Cæſar*; nor, if my Father had uſurp'd it,
" could I have born him.

" Your Petition to *Octavius* is a Confeſſion
" that we cannot enjoy the Liberty of *Rome*
" without his Leave: and can you dream that
" other Citizens are free, where we could
" not live free? Beſides, having made your
" Requeſt, how is it to be fulfilled? You beg
" him to give us our Lives; and what if he
" does? Are we therefore ſafe becauſe we
" live? Is there any Safety without Liberty;
" or rather, can we poorly live having loſt it,
" and with it our Honour and Glory? Is
" there any Security in living at *Rome*, when
" *Rome* is no longer free? That City, great
" as it is, having no Security of her own,
" can give me none —— No, I will owe mine
" to my Reſolution and my Sword; I cannot
" enjoy Life at the Mercy of another; *Cæſar*'s
" Death alone aſcertained my Liberty to me,
" which before was precarious: I ſmote him
" to be ſafe. This is a *Roman* Spirit, and
" whitherſoever I carry it, every Place will
" be *Rome* to me, who am *Roman* enough to
" prefer every Evil to Chains and Infamy,
" which to a *Roman* are the higheſt of all
" Evils. I thought we had been releaſed from
" theſe mighty Evils, by the Death of him
" who brought them upon us; but it ſeems
" we are not; elſe why a ſervile Petition to
" a Youth, big with the Name and the Am-
" bition of *Cæſar*, for Mercy to thoſe Patriots,

" who generouſly revenged their Country upon " that Tyrant, and cleared the World of his " Tyranny? It was not thus in the Common- " wealths of *Greece*, where the Children of " Tyrants ſuffered equally with their Fathers, " the Puniſhment of Tyranny.

" Can I then have any Appetite to ſee *Rome*? " Or, can *Rome* be ſaid to be *Rome*? We have " ſlain our Tyrant, we have reſtored her an- " cient Liberty: But they are Favours thrown " away; ſhe is made free in ſpite of herſelf; " and tho' ſhe has ſeen a great and terrible " Tyrant bereft of his Grandeur and his Life, " by a few of her Citizens; yet baſely de- " ſponding of her own Strength, ſhe impo- " tently dreads the Name of a dead Tyrant, " revived in the Perſon of a Stripling.

" No more of your Petitions to your young " *Cæſar* on my Behalf; nor, if you are wiſe, " on your own. You have not many Years " to live; do not be ſhewing that you over- " rate the ſhort Remains of an honourable " Life, by making prepoſterous and diſho- " nourable Court to a Boy. Take Care that " by this Conduct you do not eclipſe the Luſtre " of all your glorious Actions againſt *Mark* " *Anthony*: Do not turn your Glory into Re- " proach, by giving the Malicious a Handle " to ſay, that Self-Love was the ſole Motive " of your Bitterneſs to him; and that, had " you not dreaded him, you would not have " oppoſed him: And yet will they not ſay " this, if they ſee that having declared War " againſt *Anthony*, you notwithſtanding leave " Life and Liberty at the Mercy of *Octavius*,

" and

" and tolerate in him all the Power which the
" other claimed? They will ſay that you are
" not againſt having a Maſter, only you would
" not have *Anthony* for a Maſter.

" I well approve your Praiſes given to *Octa-*
" *vius* for his Behaviour thus far; it is indeed
" Praiſe-worthy; provided his only Intention
" has been to pull down the Tyranny of *An-*
" *thony*, without eſtabliſhing a Tyranny of his
" own. But if you are of Opinion that *Octa-*
" *vius* is in ſuch a Situation of Power, that
" it is neceſſary to approach him with humble
" Supplications to ſave our Lives, and that it
" is convenient he ſhould be truſted with this
" Power; I can only ſay, that you lift the
" Reward of his Merits far above his Merits:
" I thought all his Services were Services done
" to the Republick; but you have conferred
" upon him that abſolute and imperial Power
" which he pretended to recover to the Re-
" publick.

" If, in your Judgment, *Octavius* has earned
" ſuch Laurels and Recompences for making
" War againſt *Anthony*'s Tyranny, which was
" only the Effects and Remains of *Cæſar*'s Ty-
" ranny; to what Diſtinctions, to what Re-
" wards would you intitle thoſe who exterми-
" nated, with *Cæſar*, the Tyranny of *Cæſar*,
" for which they felt the Bleſſings and Bounty
" of the *Roman* People? Has this never entered
" into your Thoughts? Behold here how
" effectually the Terror of Evils to come, ex-
" tinguiſhes in the Minds of Men all Impreſ-
" ſions of Benefits receiv'd! *Cæſar* is dead, and
" will never return to ſhackle or frighten the

" City of *Rome*; ſo he is no more thought of, " nor are they who delivered that City from " him. But *Anthony* is ſtill alive, and ſtill in " Arms, and ſtill terrifies; and ſo *Octavius* is " adored, who beat *Anthony*. Hence it is that " *Octavius* is become of ſuch potent Conſe- " quence, that from his Mouth the *Roman* Peo- " ple muſt expect our Doom, the Doom of " their Deliverers! And hence it is too, that " we (thoſe Deliverers) are of ſuch humble " Conſequence, that he muſt be ſupplicated to " give us our Lives!

" I, as I ſaid, have a Soul, and I have a " Sword; and am an Enemy to ſuch abject " Supplications; ſo great an Enemy, that I " deteſt thoſe that uſe them, and am an avow- " ed Foe to him that expects them. I ſhall at " leaſt be far away from the odious Company " of Slaves; and where-ever I find Liberty, " there I will find *Rome*. And for you that ſtay " behind, who, not ſatiated with many Years, " and many Honours, can behold Liberty " extinct, and Vertue, with us, in Exile, and " yet are not ſick of a wretched and precarious " Life; I heartily pity you. For my ſelf, " whoſe Soul has never ebb'd from its conſtant " Principles, I ſhall ever be happy in the Con- " ſciouſneſs of my Virtue; owing nothing to " my Country, towards which I have faithfully " diſcharged my Duty, I ſhall poſſeſs my Mind " in Peace, and find the Reward of well doing " in the Satisfaction of having done it. What " greater Pleaſure does the World afford, than " to deſpiſe the ſlippery Uncertainties of Life, " and to value that only which is only valu-

able,

" able, private Vertue, and publick Liberty; " that Liberty, which is the Bleſſing, and " ought to be the Birth-right of all Mankind?

" But ſtill, I will never ſink with thoſe who " are already falling; I will never yield with " thoſe who have a Mind to ſubmit: I am " reſolved to be always firm and independent: " I will try all Expedients; I will exert my " utmoſt Proweſs, to baniſh Servitude, and ſee " my Country entirely free. If Fortune favours " me as ſhe ought, the Bleſſing and Joy will " be every Man's; but if ſhe fails me, and " my beſt Endeavours are thrown away, yet " ſtill I will rejoice ſingle; and ſo far be too " hard for Fortune. What, in ſhort, can my " Life be better laid out in, than in continual " Schemes, and repeated Efforts, for the com- " mon Liberty of my Country?

" As to your Part in this Criſis, my dear " *Cicero*, it is my ſtrongeſt Advice and Requeſt " to you, not to deſert your ſelf: Do not " diſtruſt your Ability, and your Ability will " not diſappoint you; believe you can remedy " our heavy Evils, and you will remedy them. " Our Miſeries want no Encreaſe: Prevent, " therefore, by your Vigilance, any new Acceſſion. Formerly, in Quality of Conſul, " you defeated, with great Boldneſs and " Warmth for Liberty, a formidable Conſpiracy againſt *Rome*, and ſaved the Common- " wealth; and what you did then againſt " *Cataline*, you do ſtill againſt *Anthony*. Theſe " Actions of yours have raiſed your Reputation high, and ſpread it far; but it will be

" all

" all tarniſhed or loſt, if you do not continue " to ſhew an equal Firmneſs upon as great an " Occaſion; let this render all the Parts of " your Life equal, and ſecure Immortality to " that Glory of yours, which ought to be " Immortal.

" From thoſe, who, like you, have per- " formed great Actions, as great or greater " are expected: By ſhewing that they can " ſerve the Publick, they make themſelves its " Debtors; and it is apt to exact ſtrict Pay- " ment, and to uſe them ſeverely if they do " not pay: But from thoſe who have per- " formed no ſuch Actions, we expect none. " This is the Difference betwixt the Lot of " unknown Talents, and of thoſe which have " been try'd; and the Condition of the latter " is no doubt the harder. Hence it is, that " tho' in making Head againſt *Anthony*, you " have merited and received great and juſt " Praiſes, yet you have gain'd no new Admi- " ration: By ſo doing, you only continued, " like a worthy Conſular, the known Character " of a great and able Conſul. But if now at " laſt you begin to ſacrifice your Principles, " and truckle to one as bad as him; if you " abate ever ſo little in that Vigour of Mind, " and that ſteddy Courage, by which you " expelled him from the Senate, and drove " him out of *Rome*; you will never reap ano- " ther Harveſt of Glory, whatever you may " deſerve; and even your paſt Laurels will wi- " ther, and your paſt Renown be forgot.

" There is nothing great or noble in Events, " which are the Fruit of Paſſion or Chance:

" True

" True Fame reſults only from the ſteddy Per-
" ſeverance of Reaſon in the Paths and Purſuits
" of Virtue. The Care, therefore, of the
" Commonwealth, and the Defence of her
" Liberties, belong to you above all Men, be-
" cauſe you have done more than all Men for
" Liberty and the Commonwealth: Your
" great Abilities, your known Zeal, your
" famous Actions, with the united Call and
" Expectation of all Men, are your Mo-
" tives in this great Affair; would you have
" greater?

" You are not therefore to ſupplicate *Octavius*
" for our Safety; do a braver Thing, owe it
" to your own Magnanimity. Rouze the
" *Roman* Genius within you; and conſider that
" this great and free City, which you more
" than once ſaved, will always be great and
" free, provided her People do not want
" worthy Chiefs to reſiſt Uſurpation, and ex-
" terminate Traytors.

SIR,

I Have obſerved, in a former Letter, that the People, when they are not miſled or corrupted, do generally make a ſound Judgment of Things. They have natural Qualifications equal to their Superiors; and there is oftener found a great Genius carrying a Pitch-Fork, than carrying a White-Staff. The poor Cook preferr'd by the Grand Seignior to be his firſt Vizier,

Vizier, in order to cure the publick Diſorder and Confuſion, occaſioned by the Ignorance, Corruption and Neglect of the former Miniſtry, made good effectually his own Promiſe, and did Credit to his Maſter's Choice: He remedied the publick Diſorders, *and proved*, ſays Sir *Paul Ricaut*, *an able and excellent Miniſter of State.*

Beſides, there are not ſuch mighty Talents requiſite for Government, as ſome, who pretend to them without poſſeſſing them, would make us believe: Honeſt Affections, and common Qualifications, are ſufficient; and the Adminiſtration has been always beſt executed, and the publick Liberty beſt preſerved, near the Origin and Riſe of States, when plain Honeſty and common Senſe alone governed the publick Affairs, and Men's Morals were not corrupted with Riches and Luxury, nor their Underſtandings perverted by Subtleties and Diſtinctions. Great Abilities have, for the moſt part, if not always, been employ'd to miſlead the honeſt but unwary Multitude, and to draw them out of the open and plain Paths of publick Virtue and publick Good.

The People have no Biaſs to be Knaves; the Security of their Perſons and Property is their higheſt Aim. No Ambition prompts them; they cannot come to be great Lords, and to poſſeſs great Titles, and therefore deſire none. No aſpiring or unſociable Paſſions incite them; they have no Rivals for Place, no Competitor to pull down; they have no darling Child, Pimp, or Relation to raiſe: They have no Occaſion for Diſſimulation or Intrigue; they can

ſerve

ſerve no End by Faction; they have no Intereſt but the general Intereſt.

The ſame can rarely be ſaid of Great Men, who, to gratify private Paſſion, often bring down publick Ruin; who, to fill their private Purſes with many Thouſands, frequently load the People with many Millions; who oppreſs for a Miſtreſs, and to ſave a Favourite, deſtroy a Nation; who too often make the Publick ſink and give way to their private Fortune; and for a private Pleaſure, create a general Calamity. Beſides, being educated in Debauchery, and pamper'd in Riot and Luxury, they have no Senſe of other Mens Misfortunes, nor Tenderneſs for thoſe that ſuffer them: They have no Notion of Miſeries which they do not feel. There is a Nation in *Europe*, which, within the Space of an Hundred Years laſt paſt, has been bleſſed with Patriots, who, void of every Talent and Inclination to do good, and even ſtinted in their Ability for Roguery, were forced to be beholden, for moſt of the Miſchief they did, to the ſuperior Arts and Abilities of humble Rogues and Brokers.

The firſt Principles of Power are in the People; and all the Projects of Men in Power ought to refer to the People, and aim ſolely at their Good, and end in it: And whoever will pretend to govern them without regarding them, will ſoon repent it. Such Feats of Knight-Errantry may do perhaps in *Aſia*; but in Countries where the People are free, it is Madneſs to hope to rule them againſt their Wills. They will know, that Government is appointed for their Sakes, and will be ſaucy enough

enough to expect ſome Regard and ſome Good from their own Delegates. Thoſe Nations who are govern'd in ſpight of themſelves, and in a Manner that bids Defiance to their Opinions, their Intereſt, and their Underſtandings, are either Slaves, or will ſoon ceaſe to be Subjects.

Dominion, that is not maintained by the Sword, muſt be maintained by Conſent; and in this latter Caſe, what Security can any Man at the Head of Affairs expect, but from purſuing the People's Welfare, and ſeeking their good Will? The Government of One for the Sake of One, is Tyranny; and ſo is the Government of a Few for the Sake of Themſelves: But Government executed for the Good of All, and with the Conſent of All, is Liberty; and the Word *Government* is profaned, and its Meaning abus'd, when it ſignifies any Thing elſe.

In free Countries, the People know all this. They have their five Senſes in as great Perfection, as have thoſe who would treat them as if they had none. They never hate their Governors, till their Governors deſerve to be hated; and when this happens to be the Caſe, not abſolute Power itſelf, nor the Affections of a Prince inveſted with it, can protect or employ Miniſters deteſted by the People. Even the Grand Signior, with all his boundleſs Authority, is frequently forced to give up his firſt Miniſter (who is ſometimes his Son-in-Law, or Brother-in-Law) a Sacrifice to appeaſe the People's Rage.

The

The People, rightly managed, are the beſt Friends to Princes; and, when injured and oppreſſed, they are the moſt formidable Enemies. Princes, who have truſted to their Armies or their Nobility, have been often deceived and ruined; but Princes, who have truſted wholly to the People, have ſeldom been deceived or deſerted: The Reaſon is, that in all Governments, which are not Violent and Military, the People have more Power than either the Grandees or the Soldiery; and their Friendſhip is more ſincere, as having nothing to deſire but Freedom from Oppreſſion. And whilſt a Prince is thus beloved by his People, it will rarely happen that any can be ſo raſh and precipitate as to conſpire againſt him, and ſuch Conſpiracies have never the intended Succeſs; but, as *Machiavel* well obſerves, *When the People are diſſatisfied, and have taken a Prejudice againſt their Governors, there is no Thing nor Perſon they ought not to fear.*

It is therefore of vaſt Importance to preſerve the Affections of the People, even in thoſe Governments where they have no Share in the Adminiſtration. The wiſe States of *Holland* are ſo apprized of the Truth of this Maxim, that they have preſerved themſelves and their State by religiouſly obſerving it. Their Government conſiſts of many little Ariſtocracies, where the Magiſtrates chuſe each other, and the People have nothing to do; but in Spirit and Effect it is a Democracy, and the Diſpoſitions and Inclinations of the People have above all Things the greateſt Weight in their Counſels. The Jealouſy of the People makes a vigilant Magiſtra-

Magiſtracy, who are honeſt out of Fear of provoking them; and, by never doing it, are in great Safety.

But Thanks be to Heaven and our worthy Anceſtors, our Liberties are better ſecured. We have a Conſtitution, in which the People have a large Share: They are one Part of the Legiſlature, and have the ſole Power of giving Money; which includes in it every Thing they can ask for the publick Good; and the Repreſentatives, being neither aw'd nor bribed, will always act for their Country's Intereſt; their own being ſo interwoven with the Peoples Happineſs, that they muſt ſtand and fall together.

But what if our Delegates ſhould not be ſuffered to meet; or, when met, ſhould be ſo awed by Force, (as formerly in *Denmark*) or ſo corrupted by Places and Penſions, (as in the Reign of *Charles* the Second) as to be ready to give up the publick Liberty, and betray the Intereſt of their Principals to ſecure their own? This we may be ſure can never happen under his Majeſty's moſt juſt and gentle Reign: However, it has happen'd formerly; and what has been, may be again in future Reigns.

What, in ſuch a Caſe, is to be done? What Remedies have our Laws provided againſt ſo fatal a Miſchief? Muſt the People patiently crouch under the heavieſt of all Evils? Or has our Conſtitution pointed out the Means of Redreſs? It would be abſurd to ſuppoſe that it has not; and, in effect, the People have a legal Remedy at Hand: It is their undoubted Right, and acknowledged to be ſo in the *Bill*

of

of Rights paſſed in the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt; and ſince, by the Act of the Settlement of the Crown at the *Revolution*; humbly to repreſent their publick Grievances, and to petition for Redreſs to thoſe whoſe Duty it is to right them, or to ſee them righted: And it is certain, that in all Countries, the People's Misfortunes are greater or leſs, in Proportion as this Right is encouraged or checked.

It is indeed the beſt, and the only juſt, Way they can take to breathe their Grievances; and whenever this Way has been taken, eſpecially when it has been univerſally taken, our Kings have always accepted ſo powerful an Application. Our Parliaments too, who are the Keepers and Barriers of our Liberty, have ſhewn themſelves ready and willing to receive the modeſt Complaints and Repreſentations of their Principals, and to apply quick Remedies to the Grievances contained in them. It has, indeed, been always thought highly imprudent, not to ſay dangerous, to reſiſt the general Groans and Entreaties of the People, uttered in this Manner.

This has been a Method, which has always had great Weight with good Men, and has been always a great Terror to bad. It has therefore always been encouraged and diſcouraged, according to the Innocence or Guilt of Men in Power. A Prince who minds the Welfare, and deſires the Affections of his Subjects, cannot wiſh for a better Expedient to know how his Servants are approved, and how his Government is liked, than by this Way of countenancing his People in laying their Hearts, their Wiſhes, and

and their Requeſts before him; and Miniſters never can be averſe to ſuch Repreſentations of the Complaints of the People, unleſs they have given the People Occaſion to complain.

Titus and *Trajan*, conſcious of their own virtuous Adminiſtration, and worthy Purpoſes, courted Addreſſes and Informations of this kind from their Subjects: They wiſely knew, that if the *Roman* People had free Leave to ſpeak, they would not take Leave to act; and that, whilſt they could have Redreſs, they would not ſeek Revenge.

None but deſperate Parricides will make the People deſperate.

I am, &c.

SIR,

THE Good of the Governed being the ſole End of Government, they muſt be the greateſt and beſt Governours, who make their People great and happy; and they the worſt, who make their People little, wicked, and miſerable. Power in a free State, is a Truſt committed by All to One or a Few, to watch for the Security, and purſue the Intereſt of All: And, when that Security is not ſought, nor that Intereſt obtained, we know what Opinion the People will have of their Governours.

It is the hard Fate of the World, that there ſhould be any Difference in the Views and Intereſts

Intereſts of the Governours and Governed; and yet it is ſo in moſt Countries. Men who have a Truſt frankly beſtowed upon them by the People, do too frequently betray that Truſt, become Conſpirators againſt their Benefactors, and turn the Sword upon thoſe that gave it; inſomuch that in the greateſt Part of the Earth, People are happy if they can defend themſelves againſt their Defenders.

Let us look round this Great World, and behold what an immenſe Majority of the whole Race of Men crouch under the Yoke of a few Tyrants, naturally as low as the meaneſt of themſelves, and, by being Tyrants, worſe than the worſt; who, as Mr. *Sydney* obſerves, *uſe their Subjects like Aſſes and Maſtiff Dogs, to work and to fight, to be oppreſſed and killed for them.* Even the good Qualities and Courage of ſuch Subjects are their Misfortune, by ſtrengthning the wicked Hands of their brutal Maſters, and ſtreightning their own Chains. Tyrants conſider their People as their Cattle, and uſe them worſe, as they fear them more. Thus the moſt of Mankind are become the wretched Slaves of thoſe, who are or ſhould be their own Creatures; they maintain their haughty Maſters like Gods, and their haughty Maſters often uſe them like Dogs: A fine Specimen of Gratitude and Duty!

And yet this cruel Spirit in Tyrants is not always owing naturally to the Men, ſince they are naturally like other Men; but it is owing to the Nature of the Dominion they exerciſe. Good Laws make a good Prince, if he has a good Underſtanding; but the beſt Men grow miſchie-

miſchievous when they are ſet above Laws. *Claudius* was a very harmleſs Man, while he was a private Man; but when he came to be a Tyrant, he proved a bloody one, almoſt as bloody as his Nephew and Predeceſſor *Caligula*; who had alſo been a very good Subject, but as ſoon as he came to be the *Roman* Emperor, grew at the ſame Time the profeſſed Executioner of Mankind.

There is ſomething ſo wanton and monſtrous in lawleſs Power, that there ſcarce ever was a humane Spirit that could bear it; and the Mind of Man, which is weak and limited, ought never to be truſted with a Power that is boundleſs. The State of Tyranny is a State of War; and where it prevails, inſtead of an Intercourſe of Confidence and Affection, as between a lawful Prince and his Subjects, nothing is to be ſeen but Jealouſy, Miſtruſt, Fear and Hatred: An Arbitrary Prince and his Slaves often deſtroy one another to be ſafe; They are continually plotting againſt his Life, and He is continually ſhedding their Blood, and plundering them of their Property.

Cuncta ferit, dum cuncta timet.

I think it was *Juſtinian*, the Emperor, who ſaid, *Though we are above the Law, yet we live according to the Law*: But by his Majeſty's Favour, there was more Turn than Truth in the Saying; for Princes that think themſelves above Law, act almoſt conſtantly againſt all Law; of which Truſt *Juſtinian* himſelf is a known Inſtance. Good Princes never think themſelves above it.

It

It is an affecting Obſervation, that the Power given for the Protection of the World ſhould, in ſo many Places, be turned to the Deſtruction of it. "As if the Law was in Force for their "Deſtruction, and not for their Preſervation; "that it ſhould have Power to kill, but not "to protect them: A Thing no leſs horrid, "than if the Sun ſhould burn us without "lighting us, or the Earth ſerve only to bury, "and not feed and nouriſh us," ſays Mr. *Waller* in a Speech of his in Parliament.

Deſpotick Power has defaced the Creation, and laid the World waſte. In the fineſt Countries in *Aſia*, formerly full of People, you are now forced to travel by the Compaſs: There are no Roads, Houſes, nor Inhabitants. The Sun is left to ſcorch up the Graſs and Fruits which it had raiſed; or the Rain to rot them: The Gifts of God are left to periſh; there being none of his Creatures, neither Man nor Beaſt, left to uſe and conſume them. The Grand Seignior, who (if we may believe ſome ſanctified Mouths, not addicted to Lying,) is the Vicegerent of Heaven, fruſtrates the Bounty of Heaven; and being the Father of his People, has almoſt butcher'd them all. Thoſe few (comparatively, very few) who have yet ſurvived the miſerable Fate of their Brethren, and are reſerved for Sacrifices to his Cruelty, as Occaſion offers, and his Luſt prompts him, live the ſtarving and wretched Property of ravenous and bloody Baſhaws; whoſe Duty to their Maſter, as well as their own Avarice, obliges them to keep the People, over whom they preſide, poor and miſerable.

But

But neither Baſhaws, nor Armies, could keep that People in ſuch abject Slavery, if their Prieſts and Doctors had not made Paſſive Obedience a Principle of their Religion. The holy Name of God is prophaned, and his Authority belied, to bind down Wretchedneſs upon his Creatures, and to ſecure the Tyrant that does it. The moſt conſummate of all Wickedneſs, and the higheſt of all Evils, are ſanctified by the Teachers of Religion, and made by them a Part of it. Yes, *Turkiſh* Slavery is confirmed, and *Turkiſh* Tyranny defended by Religion!

Sir *Paul Ricaut* tells us, that the *Turks* maintain, *That the Grand Seignior can never be depoſed, or made accountable for his Crimes, whilſt he deſtroys careleſly of his Subjects under a Hundred a Day*; and 'tis made Martyrdom to die ſubmiſſively by the Hand of the Tyrant; and ſome of his higheſt Slaves have declared, that they wanted only that Honour to compleat their Felicity. They hold, that it is their Duty to ſubmit, tho' their Tyrant *commands a whole Army of them to precipitate themſelves from a Rock, or to build a Bridge with Piles of their Bodies for him to paſs a River, or to kill one another to afford him Paſtime and Pleaſure.*

Merciful God! Is this Government? And do ſuch Governours govern by Authority from Thee?

It is ſcarce credible what Monſieur *de L'Eſtoille* tells us; He ſays, he travelled in the *Indies* for above twenty Days together, through Lanes of People hang'd upon Trees, by Command of the King; who had ordered above a

Hundred

Hundred Thouſand of them to be thus murthered and gibbeted, only becauſe two or three Robberies had been committed amongſt them. *Bayle, Reponſe a Queſt. d'une Provin. Tom.* 1. p. 595.

It is one of the great Evils of Servitude, that let the Tyranny be ever ſo ſevere, 'tis always flattered; and the more ſevere 'tis, the more 'tis flattered. The Oppreſſors of Mankind are flattered beyond all others; becauſe Fear and Servitude naturally produce, as well as have recourſe to Flattery, as the beſt Means of Self-Preſervation; whereas Liberty, having no Occaſion for it, ſcorns it. Sir *Paul Ricaut* aſcribes the Decay of the *Ottoman* Empire to the Force of Flattery, and calls the *Turkiſh* Court, a Priſon and Banniard of Slaves.

Old *Muly*, the Lord's Anointed of *Morocco*, who it ſeems is ſtill alive, is thought to have butcher'd Forty Thouſand of his Subjects with his own Hands —— Such a Father is he of his People! And yet his Right to ſhed humane Blood being a genuine Characteriſtick of the Church of *Morocco*, as by Law eſtabliſhed, People are greedy to die by his Hand; which, they are taught to imagine, diſpatches them forthwith to Paradiſe: Inſomuch, that tho', as I am told, every Time he mounts his Horſe, he ſlices off the Head of the Slave that holds his Stirrup, to ſhew that he is as good an Executioner as he is a Horſeman, yet there is a conſtant Contention among his Slaves, who ſhall be the happy Martyr on that Occaſion; ſo that ſeveral of them crowding to his Stirrup at once, for the gracious Favour, his Majeſty

has ſometimes the Honour to cut off Two Heads, and make Two Saints with one Blow.

The Exerciſe of deſpotick Power is the unrelenting War of an armed Tyrant upon his unarmed Subjects; it is a War of one Side, and in it there is neither Peace nor Truce. *Tacitus* deſcribes it —— *Sæva Juſſa, continuas accuſationes, fallaces amicitias, perniciem Innocentium* — "Cruel and bloody Orders, continual Accuſations, faithleſs Friendſhips, and the Deſtruction of Innocents." In another Place he ſays, "That *Italy* was one continual Shambles, and "moſt of its fair Cities were defaced or overthrown; *Rome* it ſelf was in many Places "laid in Aſhes, with the greateſt Part of its "magnificent Buildings: Virtue was deſpiſed, "and bare-fac'd Debauchery prevailed. The "ſolitary Iſlands were filled with illuſtrious "Exiles, and the very Rocks were ſtained with "Slaughters: But, in the City it ſelf, Cruelty "raged ſtill more; it was dangerous to be "Noble, it was a Crime to be Rich, it was "capital to have born Honours, and High-"Treaſon to have refuſed them; and for Vir-"tue and Merit, they brought ſure and ſudden "Deſtruction." Theſe were ſome of the Ravages of Abſolute Dominion! And as to the common People, the ſame Author ſays, "They "were debauched and diſpirited, and given "up to Idleneſs and ſeeing Shews." *Plebs ſordida Circo & Theatris ſueta.*

Oh! abject State of ſuch as tamely groan
Under a blind Dependency on One!

Late Duke of *Devonſhire.*

This

This is a ſort of Government, which is too great and heavy a Curſe for any one to wiſh, even upon thoſe who are fooliſh enough, or wicked enough, to contend for its Lawfulneſs; or, which is the ſame Thing, for Submiſſion to it: But ſurely, if ever any Man deſerved to feel the mercileſs Gripes of Tyranny, it is he who is an Advocate for it. *Phalaris* acted juſtly, when he hanſel'd his Brazen Bull with the Wretch who invented it.

As Arbitrary Power in a ſingle Perſon has made greater Havock in humane Nature, and thin'd Mankind more than all the Beaſts of Prey, and all the Plagues and Earthquakes that ever were; let thoſe Men conſider what they have to anſwer for, who would countenance ſuch a monſtrous Evil in the World, or would oppoſe thoſe that would oppoſe it. A Bear, a Lyon, or a Tyger, may now and then pick up ſingle Men in a Wood or a Deſart; and an Earthquake ſometimes may bury a Thouſand or two Inhabitants in the Ruins of a Town; and the Peſtilence may once in many Years carry off a much greater Number: But a Tyrant ſhall, out of a wanton perſonal Paſſion, carry Fire and Sword through a whole Continent, and deliver up a Hundred Thouſand of his Fellow Creatures to the Slaughter in one Day, without any Remorſe or further Notice, than that they died for his Glory. I ſay nothing of the moral Effect of Tyranny, though 'tis certain that Ignorance, Vice, Poverty, and Vileneſs, always attend it.

He who compares the World now with what it was formerly, how populous once, how thin now; and conſiders the Cauſe of this doleful Alteration, will find juſt Reaſon to fear, that Spiritual and Temporal Tyranny, if they go on much longer, will utterly extinguiſh humane Race. Of *Turkey* I have ſpoken already: The great Continent of *America* is almoſt unpeopled, the *Spaniards* having deſtroyed, 'tis thought, above Forty Millions of its Natives; and for ſome Kingdoms in *Europe*, eſpecially towards the North, I do not believe they have now half ſo many Inhabitants they had ſo lately as a Hundred Years ago.

Bleſſed be God, there are ſtill ſome free Countries in *Europe*, that abound with People and with Plenty, and *England* with the foremoſt. This demonſtrates the ineſtimable Bleſſing of Liberty. Can we ever over-rate it, or be too jealous of a Treaſure which includes in it almoſt all humane Felicities? Or can we encourage too much, thoſe that contend for it, and thoſe that promote it? It is the Parent of Virtue, Pleaſure, Plenty, and Security; and 'tis innocent, as well as lovely. In all Contentions between Liberty and Power, the latter has almoſt conſtantly been the Aggreſſor. Liberty, if ever it produces any Evils, does alſo cure them: Its worſt Effect, Licentiouſneſs, never does, and never can continue long. Anarchy cannot be of much Duration; and where 'tis ſo, it is the Child and Companion of Tyranny; which is not Government, but a Diſſolution of it, as Tyrants are the Enemies of Mankind.

Power

Power is like Fire; it warms, ſcorches, or deſtroys, according as it is watched, provoked, or increas'd. It is as dangerous as uſeful. Its only Rule is the Good of the People; but becauſe it is apt to break its Bounds, in all good Governments nothing, or as little as may be, ought to be left to Chance, or the Humours of Men in Authority: All ſhould proceed by fixt and ſtated Rules; and upon any Emergency, new Rules ſhould be made. And this is the Conſtitution, and this the Happineſs of *Engliſhmen*, as has been formerly ſhewn at large in theſe Letters.

We have a Conſtitution that abhors Abſolute Power; we have a King that does not deſire it; and we are a People that will never ſuffer it: No free People will ever ſubmit to it, unleſs it ſteals upon them by Treachery, or they are driven into it by Violence. But a State can never be too ſecure againſt this terrible, this laſt of all humane Evils; which may be brought upon them by many Cauſes, even by ſome that at firſt Sight do not ſeem to threaten any ſuch Thing: And of all thoſe Cauſes, none ſeems more boding than a general Diſtreſs, which certainly produces general Diſcontent, the Parent of Revolutions; and in what ſuch a Circumſtance of Affairs may end, no Man can ever foreſee: Few are brought about without Armies, a Remedy almoſt always worſe than the Diſeaſe. What is got by Soldiers, muſt be maintained by Soldiers; and we have, in this Paper, already ſeen the frightful Image of a Military Government; a Government, which, at beſt, is violent and bloody,

and eternally inconsistent with Law and Property.

It is therefore a dreadful Wickedness to have any Share in giving Occasion for those Discontents, which are so apt to burst into Rage and Confusion. A State does sometimes recover out of a Convulsion, and gain new Vigour by it; but it much oftner expires in it. Heaven preserve me from ever beholding contending Armies in *England!* They are different Things from what they once were. Our Armies formerly were only a Number of the People arm'd occasionally; and Armies of the People are the only Armies which are not formidable to the People. Hence it is, that in the many Revolutions occasioned by the Strife between the Two Royal Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, there was never any Danger of Slavery from an armed Force: A single Battle decided the Contention, and next Day these popular Soldiers went Home, and resumed their ordinary Arms, the Tools of Husbandry. But since that Time, Armies have not been so easily parted with; but after the Danger was over for which they were raised, they have often been obstinately kept up, and by that Means created Dangers still as great.

Some Quacks in Politicks may perhaps venture publick Disturbances, out of an Opinion that they shall be able to prevent them by Art, or suppress them by Force. But this shews their Capacity as well as their Wickedness: For not to mention the Malignity of their Hearts in risquing Publick Ruin, to gratify a private Appetite; how can any Event

be

be certainly foreſeen, when the Meaſure of the Cauſe cannot be certainly known? They can never aſcertain the Degree of Oppoſition; they cannot foreknow what Circumſtances may happen, nor into whoſe Hands Things may fall. *Cicero* did not dream, when he employ'd *Octavius* for the Commonwealth, that his young Champion for Liberty would ever be the Tyrant of his Country. Who could foreſee that *Cromwel* would enſlave thoſe whom he was employed to defend? But there is no truſting of Liberty in the Hands of Men, who are obey'd by great Armies.

From hence may be ſeen what a fatal and crying Crime it would be, in any free Country, to break the Confidence between the Prince and his People. When Loyalty is once turned into Indifference, Indifference will ſoon be turned into Hatred; and Hatred will be returned with Hatred; Reſentment may produce Tyranny, and Rage may produce Rebellion. There is no Miſchief, which this mutual Miſtruſt and Averſion may not bring forth. They muſt therefore be the blackeſt Traytors, who are the firſt Authors of ſo terrible an Evil, as are they who would endeavour to protect them.

Henry the IIId of *Caſtile* ſaid, *That he feared the Curſe of his People more than he did the Arms of his Enemies*: In which Saying he ſhewed as much Wiſdom as Humanity; ſince, while he was beloved at Home, he had nothing to fear from Abroad, and the Curſes of his Subjects were the likelieſt Means to bring upon him the Arms of his Enemies. *I am*, &c.

SIR,

I Send you, for the Entertainment of your Readers this Week, two or three Paſſages out of the great *Algernon Sydney*: An Author, which can never be too much valued or read; an Author, that does Honour to the *Engliſh* Nobility, and to the *Engliſh* Name; an Author, who has writ better upon Government than any *Engliſhman*, and as well as any Foreigner; and an Author, who was a Martyr for that Liberty, which he has ſo amiably deſcribed, and ſo nobly defended. He fell a Sacrifice to the vile and corrupt Court of our pious *Charles* the Second. He had aſſerted the Rights of Mankind, and ſhewed the Odiouſneſs of Tyranny; he had expoſed the Abſurdity and Vileneſs of the ſacred and faſhionable Doctrines of thoſe Days, Paſſive Obedience and Hereditary Right; Doctrines, which give the Lie to common Senſe, and which would deſtroy all common Happineſs and Security amongſt Men! Doctrines, which were never practiſed by thoſe that preached them! and Doctrines, which are big with Nonſenſe, Contradiction, Impoſſibility, Miſery, Wickedneſs, and Deſolation! Theſe were his Crimes, and theſe his Glory.

The Book is every Way excellent; he had read and digeſted all Hiſtory; and this Performance of his takes in the Whole Buſineſs of Govern-

Government: It makes us ſome amends for the Loſs of *Cicero's* Books *de Republica*. Col. *Sydney* had all the clear and comprehenſive Knowledge, and all the Dignity of Expreſſion of that great Maſter of Eloquence and Politicks; his Love of Liberty was as warm, his Honeſty as great, and his Courage greater.

" Liberty cannot be preſerved, if the Manners of the People are corrupted, nor abſolute Monarchy introduced, where they are ſincere; which is ſufficient to ſhew, that thoſe who manage free Governments, ought always, to the utmoſt of their Power, to oppoſe Corruption, becauſe otherwiſe both they and their Government muſt inevitably periſh; and that, on the other Hand, the abſolute Monarch muſt endeavour to introduce it, becauſe he cannot ſubſiſt without it. 'Tis alſo ſo natural for all ſuch Monarchs to place Men in Power, who pretend to love their Perſons, and will depend upon their Pleaſure, that poſſibly 'twould be hard to find one in the World who has not made it the Rule of his Government: And this is not only the Way to Corruption, but the moſt dangerous of all. For tho' a good Man may love a good Monarch, he will obey him only when he commands that which is juſt; and no one can engage himſelf blindly to do whatever he is commanded, without renouncing all Virtue and Religion; becauſe he knows not whether that which ſhall be commanded is conſiſtent with each, or directly contrary to the Laws of God and Man. But

" if ſuch a Monarch be evil, and his Actions " ſuch as they are too often found to be; who- " ever bears an Affection to him, and ſeconds " his Deſigns, declares himſelf an Enemy to " all that is good; and the Advancement of " ſuch Men to Power, does not only introduce, " foment, and increaſe Corruption, but forti- " fies it in ſuch a Manner, that without an " entire Renovation of that State, it cannot " be remov'd. Ill Men may poſſibly creep " into any Government; but when the worſt " are placed neareſt to the Throne, and rais'd " to Honours for being ſo, they will with that " Force endeavour to draw all Men to a Con- " formity of Spirit with themſelves, that it can " no otherwiſe be prevented than by deſtroy- " ing them, and the Principle in which they " live.

" Man naturally follows that which is good, " or ſeems to him to be ſo. Hence it is, that " in well-governed States, where a Value is " put upon Virtue, and no one honoured un- " leſs for ſuch Qualities as are beneficial to the " Publick; Men are from the tendereſt Years " brought up in a Belief, that nothing in this " World deſerves to be ſought after, but ſuch " Honours as are acquired by virtuous Actions: " By this Means, Virtue itſelf becomes popular, " as in *Sparta*, *Rome*, and other Places where " Riches (which with the Vanity that follows " them, and the Honours Men give to them, " are the Root of all Evil) were either totally " baniſhed, or little regarded. When no other " Advantage attended the greateſt Riches, than " the Opportunity of living more ſumptuouſly

" or

" or deliciouſly, Men of great Spirits ſlighted
" them. When *Ariſtippus* told *Cleanthes*, that
" if he would go to Court and flatter the Ty-
" rant, he need not ſeek his Supper under a
" Hedge; the Philoſopher anſwered, That he
" who could content himſelf with ſuch a Sup-
" per, need not go to Court to flatter the
" Tyrant. *Epaminondas*, *Ariſtides*, *Phocion*,
" and even the *Lacedemonian* Kings, found no
" Inconvenience in Poverty, whilſt their Vir-
" tue was honoured, and the richeſt Princes in
" the World fear'd their Valour and Power. It
" was not difficult for *Curius*, *Fabricius*, *Cincin-*
" *natus*, or *Emilius Paulus*, to content them-
" ſelves with the narroweſt Fortune, when it
" was no Obſtacle to them in the Purſuit of
" thoſe Honours which their Virtues deſerved.
" 'Twas in vain to think of bribing a Man,
" who ſupped upon the Coleworts of his own
" Garden. He could not be gained by Gold,
" who did not think it neceſſary. He that
" could riſe from the Plough to the Triumphal
" Chariot, and contentedly return thither a-
" gain, could not be corrupted; and he that
" left the Senſe of his Poverty to his Executors,
" who found not wherewith to bury him,
" might leave *Macedon* and *Greece* to the Pillage
" of his Soldiers, without taking to himſelf
" any Part of the Booty. But when Luxury
" was brought into Faſhion, and they came
" to be honoured who lived magnificently, tho'
" they had in themſelves no Qualities to di-
" ſtinguiſh them from the baſeſt of Slaves, the
" moſt virtuous Men were expoſed to ſcorn if
" they were poor; and that Poverty, which

" had

" had been the Mother and Nurſe of their " Virtue, grew inſupportable. The Poet well " underſtood what Effect this Change had upon " the World, who ſaid,

Nullum crimen abeſt facinuſque libidinis, ex quo
Paupertas Romana perit. Juven.

" When Riches grew to be neceſſary, the De- " ſire of them, which is the Spring of all Miſ- " chief, follow'd. They who could not ob- " tain Honours by the nobleſt Actions, were " obliged to get Wealth, or purchaſe them from " Whores or Villains, who expoſed them to " Sale: And when they were once entered into " this Track, they ſoon learned the Vices of " thoſe from whom they had received their " Preferment, and to delight in the Ways that " had brought to it. When they were come to " this, nothing could ſtop them: All Thought " and Remembrance of Good was extinguiſh- " ed. They who had bought the Commands " of Armies or Provinces from *Icetus* or *Nar-* " *ciſſus*, ſought only how to draw Money from " them, to enable them to purchaſe higher " Dignities, or gain a more aſſured Protection " from thoſe Patrons. This brought the Go- " vernment of the World under a moſt in- " famous Traffick; and the Treaſures ariſing " from it were, for the moſt part, diſſipated " by worſe Vices, than the Rapine, Violence " and Fraud with which they had been gotten. " The Authors of thoſe Crimes had nothing " left but their Crimes; and the Neceſſity of " committing more, through the Indigence into

" which

" which they were plung'd by Extravagance of
" their Expences. Theſe Things are inſepa-
" rable from the Life of a Courtier; for as
" ſervile Natures are guided rather by Senſe
" than Reaſon, ſuch as addict themſelves to
" the Service of Courts, find no other Conſo-
" lation in their Miſery, than what they receive
" from ſenſual Pleaſures, or ſuch Vanities as
" they put a Value upon; and have no other
" Care than to get Money for their Supply,
" by begging, ſtealing, bribing, and other in-
" famous Practices. Their Offices are more
" or leſs eſteem'd, according to the Opportu-
" nities they afford for the Exerciſe of theſe
" Virtues; and no Man ſeeks them for any
" other End than for Gain, nor takes any other
" Way than that which conduces to it. The
" uſual Means of attaining them are, by ob-
" ſerving the Prince's Humour, flattering his
" Vices, ſerving him in his Pleaſures, foment-
" ing his Paſſions, and by advancing his worſt
" Deſigns, to create an Opinion in him that they
" love his Perſon, and are entirely addicted to
" his Will. When Valour, Induſtry, and
" Wiſdom, advanc'd Men to Offices; it was
" no eaſy Matter for a Man to perſwade the
" Senate he had ſuch Qualities as were required,
" if he had them not: But when Princes ſeek
" only ſuch as love them, and will do what
" they command, 'tis eaſy to impoſe upon
" them; and becauſe none that are good will
" obey them when they command that which
" is not ſo, they are always encompaſs'd by the
" worſt. Thoſe who follow them only for
" Reward, are moſt liberal in profeſſing Af-

" fection

" fection to them, and by that Means riſe to " Places of Authority and Power. The Foun- " tain being thus corrupted, nothing that is " pure can come from it. Theſe mercenary " Wretches having the Management of Affairs, " Juſtice and Honour are ſet at a Price, and " the moſt lucrative Traffick in the World is " thereby eſtabliſhed. Eutropius, *when he was* " *a Slave uſed to pick Pockets and Locks; but* " *being made a Miniſter, he ſold Cities, Armies,* " *and Provinces*; * *and ſome have undertaken to* " *give probable Reaſons to believe, that* Pallas, " *one of* Claudius's *manumis'd Slaves, by theſe* " *Means brought together more Wealth in Six* " *Years, than all the* Roman *Dictators and Conſuls* " *had done, from the Expulſion of the Kings, to* " *their Paſſage into* Aſia. The reſt walk'd in " the ſame Way, and the ſame Arts, and many " of them ſucceeded in the ſame Manner. " Their Riches conſiſted not of Spoils taken " from Enemies, but were the baſe Product of " their own Corruption. They valued nothing " but Money, and thoſe who could bribe them " were ſure to be advanc'd to the higheſt Offi- " ces; and whatever they did, fear'd no Puniſh- " ment. Like Effects will ever proceed from " the like Cauſes. When Vanity, Luxury, " and Prodigality are in Faſhion, the Deſire of " Riches muſt neceſſarily increaſe in Proportion " to them: And when the Power is in the " Hands of baſe mercenary Perſons, they will " always (to uſe the Courtiers Phraſe) make as

* ——*Nunc uberiore rapina*
Peccat in urbe manus. Claud.

much

" much Profit of their Places as they can. " Not only Matters of Favour, but of Juſtice " too, will be expoſed to Sale; and no Way " will be open to Honours or Magiſtracies, but " by paying largely for them. He that gets an " Office by theſe Means, will not execute it " *gratis*: He thinks he may ſell what he has " bought; and would not have enter'd by cor- " rupt Ways, if he had not intended to deal " corruptly: Nay, if a well-meaning Man " ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be ſo far carry'd away " by the Stream of a prevailing Cuſtom, as to " purchaſe Honours of ſuch Villains, he would " be obliged to continue in the ſame Courſe, " that he might gain Riches to procure the " Continuance of his Benefactors Protection, " or to obtain the Favour of ſuch as happen " to ſucceed them. And the Corruption thus " beginning in the Head, muſt neceſſarily dif- " fuſe it ſelf into the Members of the Com- " monwealth: Or, if any one (which is not " to be expected) after having been guilty of " one Villainy, ſhould reſolve to commit no " more, it could have no other Effect, than to " bring him to Ruin; and he being taken a- " way, all Things would return to their " former Channel.

I am, &c.

SIR,

SIR,

Salluſt, or whoever elſe was the Author of the two Diſcourſes to *Cæſar* about ſettling the Commonwealth, obſerves to that Emperor, that thoſe Magiſtrates judge wildly, who would derive their own Security from the Corruption of the People; and therefore make them wicked Men, to make them good Subjects: *Whereas*, ſays he, *'tis the Intereſt of a virtuous Prince to make his People virtuous; for, the Debauched, having thrown off all Reſtraint, are of all Men the moſt ungovernable.*

Pliny tells *Trajan*, That all his Predeceſſors, except *Nerva* and one or two more, ſtudied how to debauch their People, and how to baniſh all Virtue, by introducing all Vices; firſt, becauſe they were delighted to ſee others like themſelves; and ſecondly, becauſe the Minds of the *Romans* being depraved by the Taſte and Vices of Slaves, they would bear with greater Tameneſs the Imperial Yoke of Servitude.

Thus did theſe Governours and Enemies of *Rome*, deſtroy Virtue to ſet up Power. Nor was ſuch Policy at all new or ſtrange: It was then, and always will be, the direct Road to abſolute Monarchy, which is in its Nature at everlaſting Enmity with all Goodneſs and Honeſty. The *Roman* Virtue and the *Roman* Liberty expired together; Tyranny and Corruption came upon them almoſt Hand in Hand.

This

This ſhews the Importance of an honeſt Magiſtracy; nothing certainly is more threatning, or more to be apprehended than a corrupt one. A Knave in Power is as much to be dreaded, as a Fool with a Firebrand in a Magazine of Powder: You have ſcarce a bare Chance for not being blown up.

From the wicked and worthleſs Men, who engroſſed all the Places at *Rome*, in the latter Days of the Commonwealth; and from the monſtrous Prodigalities, infamous Briberies, and endleſs Corrupions promoted by theſe Men. the ſudden Thraldom of that glorious City might eaſily have been foreſeen. It was ſcarce poſſible to be honeſt and preferr'd. *Atticus* would never accept of any Employment, tho' he was offered the higheſt. "This Refuſal, *ſays Monſieur* Bayle, "was doubtleſs owing to his Virtue: There "was no riſing to Offices then, but by Means "that were infamous; nor was there any ſuch "Thing as executing theſe Offices according to "the Rules of Juſtice and the publick Good, "without being expoſed, for doing ſo, to the "Reſentment and Violence of many and great "wicked Men. He therefore choſe to be rather a virtuous private Man, than an exalted "and publick Rogue.

"How charming is this Example, but how "rare! If all Men were like *Atticus*, there would "be no danger of a State of Anarchy. But "as to that, we may be eaſy; for there will "be always more Rogues and Rooks at Hand "to be devouring and monopolizing Places, by "all proper vile Means, than there will be "Places to beſtow."

Bayle

Bayle goes on, and tells us of "a great Traveller, who being rallied upon his rambling Humour, answered, That he would cease travelling, as soon as ever he could find a Country where Power and Credit were in the Hands of honest Men, and Preferments went by Merit: *Nay then*, says one who heard him, *you will infallibly die travelling.*

Corruption, Bribery, and Treachery, were such Ways to Power, as *Atticus* would not tread. Coll. *Sidney* says, that "a noble Person in his Time, who was a great Enemy to Bribery, was turned out from a considerable Post, as a Scandal to the Court; *for*, said the principal Minister, *he will make no Profit of his Place, and by that Means cast a Scandal upon those that do*" And *Alexander ab Alexandro* tells a Story of "a very honest Man, well skilled in the Languages, who having long struggled with Difficulties and Poverty, while he trusted in vain to his Honesty and Learning, bethought himself of a contrary Road; and therefore turning Pimp and Pathick, instantly he prospered, and got great Riches, Power, and Places.

Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris & Carcere dignum.

Cicero, who lived to see dismal Days of Ambition and Corruption at *Rome*, was sensible that he could do little or no good with all his Abilities and his Honesty. "If I saw, says he, in a Letter to *Lentulus*; If I saw the Commonwealth held and governed by corrupt and desperate Men, as has happened in my Days

and

" and formerly, no Motive or Conſideration " ſhould engage me in their Intereſts; neither " their Bribes could move me, nor could " Dangers, which often ſway the boldeſt Men, " terrify me; nor could any of their Civilities, " or any of their Obligations, ſoften me."

Talking, in another Place, of the Senate, " then aw'd by Power, or governed by Avarice, " he ſays, *Aut aſſentiendum eſt nulla cum gravitate* " *paucis, aut fruſtra diſſentiendum*: That is, " you muſt either baſely vote with *Craſſus* and " *Cæſar*, and one or two Men more in Power, " or vote againſt them to no Purpoſe." Theſe great Men did not ſeek Power, nor uſe it, to do good to their Country, which is the End of Power; but to themſelves, which is the Abuſe of Power. Where Government is degenerated into Jobbing, it quickly runs into Tyranny and Diſſolution: And he who in any Country poſſeſſes himſelf of a great Poſt for the Sake of gainful Jobbs, as a certain great Perſon once own'd he did, ought to finiſh his laſt Jobb under a Gallows.

It is natural and neceſſary for thoſe that have corrupt Ends, to make uſe of Means that are corrupt, and to hate all Men that are uncorrupt.

I would lay it down as a Rule for all Nations to conſider and obſerve, that where Bribery is practiſed, 'tis a thouſand to one but Miſchief is intended; and the more Bribery, the more Miſchief. When therefore the People, or their Truſtees, are brib'd, they would do well to conſider that it is not, it cannot be, for their own Sakes. Honeſt and open Deſigns, which

which will bear Light and Examination, are hurt and diſcredited by baſe and dark Expedients to bring them about: But, if you would perſwade a Man to be a Rogue, it is natural that Money ſhould be your firſt Argument; and therefore whoever offers me a Bribe, does tacitly acknowledge that he thinks me a Knave.

Tacitus, taking Notice of the woeful Decline of Virtue and Liberty, towards the End of the Republick, ſays, That the greateſt Villainies were committed with Impunity, and Ruin was the Price of Honeſty; *deterrima quæque impune*; *ac multa honeſta exitio fuere.* And indeed, where Corruption and publick Crimes are not carefully oppoſed, and ſeverely puniſhed, neither Liberty nor Security can poſſibly ſubſiſt.

The immenſe Briberies practiſed by *Julius Cæſar* were ſure and terrible Preſages of *Cæſar*'s Tyranny. It is amazing what mighty Sums he gave away: *Caius Curio* alone, one of the Tribunes was bought into his Intereſt, at no ſmaller a Price than half a Million of our Money. Other Magiſtrates too had their Shares, and all were bribed who would be bribed. We may eaſily conceive how he came by ſuch Sums; he got them as wickedly as he gave them away. Nor can I call him generous in this vaſt Liberality, ſince he purchaſed the *Roman* Empire with its own Money, and gave away a Part to get the Whole.

Unjuſt and unfrugal Ways of throwing away Money, make wicked and violent Means neceſſary to get Money; and Rapine naturally follows Prodigality. They that waſte publick Money,

Money, ſeldom ſtop there; but go a wicked Step farther, and having firſt drained the People, at laſt oppreſs them. Publick Frauds are therefore very alarming, as they are very big with publick Ruin. What ſhall we ſay then of other Times, when publick Schemes have been concerted to confound all Property, and to put common Honeſty out of Countenance, and baniſh it from amongſt Men; and when an Appetite for Power was only an Appetite for Miſchief? Dreadful ſure was the Proſpect! And yet this was the State of *Rome* in thoſe Days, as will be ſeen further before this Letter is ended.

Nor would it have been any Advantage or Security to *Rome*, tho' *Caſar* and his Party had been leſs able Men than in Truth they were: Having debauched the People, he did more by Corruption towards enſlaving them, than he did by his Parts, as great as they were. It is ſomewhere obſerved, that to do good, requires ſome Parts and Pains; but any Man may be a Rogue. *The World*, ſays the Proverb, *little knows what ſilly Fellows govern it.* And even the Difficulties of doing Good, proceed from the Pravity of ſome Mens Nature, ever prone to do Evil; and ſo ſtrong is that Pravity, that many Men do frequently ſlight great Temptations to be honeſt, and embrace ſlight Temptations to be Knaves.

It is an Obſervation, which every Body is capable of making, that a good Character loſt is hardly, if ever recovered. Now the Reaſon of this is not ſo much from the Malevolence of the World (often too ready to calumniate)

lumniate) as from the Inability of a Knave to become honeſt: He is, as it were doom'd to be one: The Biaſs of his Spirit is crooked; and if ever he acts honeſtly, it is for a roguiſh Reaſon. I have known a Man, who having wilfully loſt all Credit, rejected as wilfully all Opportunities to regain it, even when thrown into his Lap. He could not help earning freſh Deteſtation, with great Labour; when he might have acquired the higheſt Renown, with the greateſt Eaſe. From hence may be ſeen how dangerous it is ever to truſt a Man, who has once been a Villain: and hence too may be learned, that from Men who have done eminent Miſchief, whether publick or private, greater ſtill is to be dreaded. Vice is a proliſick Thing, and Wickedneſs naturally begets Wickedneſs.

Olearius, giving an Account of *Muſcovy*, obſerves, "That the Great Duke's Court hath "this in common with thoſe of other Princes, "that Vice takes Place of Virtue, and gets "nearer the Throne. Thoſe who have the "Honour to be neareſt his Perſon, are withal "more ſubtle, more deceitful, and more inſo-"lent, than the others that have not. They "know very well how to make their Advan-"tages of the Prince's Favour, and look for "the greateſt Reſpects and humbleſt Sub-"miſſions imaginable from thoſe who make "their Addreſſes to them; which the others "render them, as much to avoid the Miſchief "they might do to them, as for the Good they "expect from them." This is the Character of a Court, where one is not much ſurprized nor

nor troubled to find out Tyranny and Corruption in abundance: But one is at once amazed and affected with the mournful Account *Salluſt* gives us of the *Romans* in his Time; *the* Romans *who had been ſo virtuous a People, ſo great and ſo free!*

The *Romans*, he ſays, were arrived to that Pitch of Corruption, that they gloried in Extravagancy and Rapine, and made Sarcaſms upon Virtue. Modeſty and a diſintereſted Mind paſs'd with them only for Sloth and Cowardice. Thoſe that were in Power, neglecting Virtue, and conſpiring againſt Innocence, preferr'd only their own Creatures. *Innocentes circumveniunt, ſuos ad honorem tollunt*; wicked Deeds and an infamous Character, were no Bars to the poſſeſſing of Power; and thoſe that acted as if Rapine was their Employment, and Plunder the Perquiſites of their Place, were not thought unfit for freſh Preferments. *Non facinus, non probrum, aut flagitium obſtat, quo minus Magiſtratus capiant: quod commodum eſt, trahunt, rapiunt.* At laſt, their great Men had no Principle but Rapaciouſneſs, and obſerved no Law but their Luſt. The whole Commonwealth was become their Prey and their Pillage: *Poſtremo, tanquam urbe capta, libidine ac licentia ſua, pro legibus utuntur.*

The ſame Author ſays, That it would have leſſened his Concern, had he ſeen ſuch great Wickedneſs perpetrated by Men of great Qualities: But his Grief had not this Mitigation; For, ſays he, wretched Creatures with little Souls, whoſe whole Genius lay in their Tongue, and whoſe utmoſt Talent and Ability was to prate

prate glibly, exerciſed with Inſolence that Power which they had acquired by Chance, or by the Sloth of others. *Ac me quidem mediocris dolor angeret, ſi virtute partam victoriam more ſuo per ſervitium exercerent: Sed homines inertiſſimi quorum omnis vis virtuſque in lingua ſita eſt, forte, & alterius ſocordia, dominationem oblatam inſolentes agitant.* And for the *Roman* Nobility of that Time, he ſays, That like ſtupid Statues, their Names and Titles were their only Ornaments: *Inertiſſimi Nobiles, in quibus, ſicut in Statua, præter nomen, nihil eſt additamenti.* Salluſt ad C. Cæſarem, de Repub. Ordinand.

We ſee what a Market theſe Men made of Power, and what a Degree of Degeneracy they introduced. The End of all was, the utter Loſs of Liberty, and a ſettled Tyranny.

I am, &c.

To CATO.

SIR,

SEE what it is to be conſpicuous! Your Honeſty, and the Truths you tell, have drawn upon you much Envy, and many Lies. You cannot be anſwered, and therefore it is fit to abuſe you. Had you kept grovelling near the Earth, in Company with moſt other Weekly Writers, you might have lulled the Town aſleep as they do, with great Safety to your Perſon, and without any Body's ſaying

an

an unkind Word of you: But you have galloped away ſo faſt, and ſo far before them, that it is no Wonder the poor Vermin, conſcious of their own Heavineſs and want of Speed, crawl after you and curſe you —— It is natural; human Sight is offended with Splendor: This is exemplified in a Man looking at the Sun; he makes all the while a World of wry Mouths and diſtorted Faces.

Conſider your ſelf, Sir, as the Sun to thoſe Authors, who behold you with Agonies, while they behold you with Admiration. Great Minds alone are pleaſed with the Excellencies of others, and vulgar Souls provoked by them. The Mob of Writers is like the Weavers Mob: All Levellers. This appears by their unmannerly and ſeditious Speeches concerning you, their Monarch. Strange Inſtance of Impudence and Ingratitude! they live upon you, and ſcold at you. Your Lot is the ſame with that of many other eminent Authors; you feed Vermin before you are dead.

Your Slanderers, as they are below even Contempt, ſo are they far below all Notice: But it is worth conſidering who ſet them at work, from whom they receive the Wages of Proſtitution, and what contradictory Things the poor Creatures are taught to ſay. Scarce a Paper appear'd for a conſiderable Time together, in which *Cato*'s Letters were not extoll'd; and thoſe who did it endeavoured, to the beſt of their Skill, to write after him: But finding that his Labours made theirs uſeleſs, and that the recommending of publick Spirit was too mighty a Task for humble Hirelings, they ſud-

denly, and without any Ceremony, tack about, and by calumniating *Cato*, make themſelves Liars: Such Deference have they for their Cuſtomers, and for themſelves!

It is no Wonder, therefore, that the ſame worthy, but waggiſh Pens, repreſent him, with the ſame Breath, as an *abandon'd Atheiſt*, and a *bigotted Presbyterian*; while others plainly prove him a *flaming Jacobite*, and an *arrant Republican*; that is, one who is high for Monarchy, and one who is againſt all Monarchy. I could ſhew you theſe pretty Conſiſtencies in one and the ſame Paper.

Cato had deſcribed and ſhewed the horrid Effects of publick Confuſion, and contended for puniſhing the Authors of our own: Hence *Cato* is repreſented as *an Enemy to Government and Order, and a Promoter of Confuſion.*

Cato had beſtowed real and unfeigned Encomiums upon his Majeſty, and done all Juſtice to the Abilities and Honeſty of his Miniſters: Hence *Cato* is charged with *caſting Reproaches, and making Sarcaſms upon his Majeſty and his Miniſtry.*

Cato has writ againſt *Turkiſh, Aſiatick*, and all ſorts of Tyranny: Hence *Cato* is ſaid to be *a great Incendiary, and an open Enemy to our Conſtitution.*

Cato contends, that great Traytors ought to be hang'd: Hence *Cato* is traduced as if he *affronted the Government.*

Cato aſſerts, that the Good of Mankind is the End of Government: Hence *Cato* is for *deſtroying all Government.*

Cato lays down certain Rules for farther eſtabliſhing his Majeſty's Throne, and for enſuring

ſuring to him for ever the Minds of his People: Therefore *Cato is a Jacobite.*

Cato has ſhewn at large, the Bleſſings of a limited Monarchy, eſpecially of our own: Therefore *Cato is a Republican.*

Cato has ſhewn the Dreadfulneſs of popular Inſurrections, and Fury; the Miſery of Civil Wars; and the Uncertainty of their End: Therefore *Cato ſtirs up the People to Sedition and Rebellion.*

Cato laments that great Criminals are ſeldom brought to the Gallows: Hence *Cato* is repreſented as one that *deſerves the Gallows.*

Cato, talking of *Turkey*, obſerves with Warmth and Concern, that the Holy Name of God was belied, and Religion proſtituted, to bind down Wretchedneſs upon his Creatures, and to protect the Tyrant that does it: Therefore *Cato ſcurrilouſly reviles the Church of* England.

Cato has ſhewn the deſtructive Terrors of Arbitrary Power, and how it had almoſt diſpeopled the Earth: In anſwer to this, it is ſaid, that *Cato wears a dark Whig.*

Cato has complained that this great Nation has been abuſed, cheated, and exhauſted; its Trade ruined; its Credit deſtroyed; its Manufactures diſcouraged, *&c.* and affirmed, that Vengeance is due to thoſe Traytors who have done it; that none but Traytors will protect Traytors; that publick Honeſty and publick Spirit ought to be encouraged, in Oppoſition to publick Corruption, Bribery, and Rapine; that there is Regard to be had to the Rights, Privileges, and Tempers of the People: That ſtanding Armies are dreadful Things; that a

Military Government is violent and bloody? That they are the blackeſt Traytors, who would break the Confidence between a Prince and his Subjects: That great Men mind chiefly the getting of Plumbs; and that honeſt Meaſures are the beſt Meaſures. To all which it is replied, That *Cato is a whimſical unreaſonable Man, who talks and expects ſtrange Things; and, in fine, that he dreams odd Dreams.*

By ſuch powerful Arguments is *Cato* anſwered; by ſuch pretty Arts decried. *He is really a great Criminal*; he aſſerts the Rights and Property of the People, and calls for Juſtice upon thoſe who would deſtroy them. *He is ſurely a Jacobite*, who would not let certain elevated Sages do what they would, and get what they pleaſed. I would aſk, Whether the obliging, protecting, and avenging the injured People, be likely Ways to bring in the *Pretender?* And yet theſe are the Ways which *Cato* contends for: Or, Whether the deceiving, loading, and ſqueezing of the harmleſs People, be natural Ways to make and keep them well affected? And yet theſe are the Ways which *Cato* condemns and expoſes.

Being detached from all Parties, and eminently guiltleſs of all perſonal Views of his own, and going upon Principles certainly true in themſelves, and certainly beneficent to humane Society; it is no Wonder that he is read and approved by every intelligent Man in *England*, except the Guilty, their Screens, Hirelings, and Adherents. What he writes, the People feel to be true. If Men can be great Knaves in ſpight of Oppoſition; how much

greater

greater would they be, if there were none? And if Juſtice is oppoſed, openly, ſhameleſly, and violently oppoſed, in ſpight of her Champions, and Defenders; ſhe muſt certainly be deſtroyed, if ſhe had none. It is a diſmal Reflection, that Juſtice muſt ſometimes be fought for Inch by Inch, before it can be obtained, and at laſt is not half obtained; and that the higher and blacker the Villainy is, the greater is the Security. I hope this will never be our Caſe; but I could name many a Country whoſe Caſe it has been.

I am not ſurprized that certain tall Traytors are very angry at *Cato*. *Good now hold your Tongue*, ſaid a Quack to his complaining Patient, under Agonies into which he had been caſt by the Doctor's infallible Specifick: *Good now hold your Tongue, and be eaſy, —— leave the Matter to me, and the Matter will go well*; that is, lie ſtill and die, and I will warrant you. Great Grief and Diſtreſs will have Utterance, in ſpight of Art or Terror.

On *Aſcenſion Day*, when the Doge of *Venice* weds the Sea with a Ring; the Admiral, who conducts the Bucentauro, or Veſſel in which that Ceremony is performed, does a bold Thing: He pawns his Head to the Senate, to enſure them againſt the Danger and Effects of Tempeſts and Storms. But the Thing would be ſtill bolder, if he had firſt wilfully raiſed a Storm, or bored a Hole in the Veſſel.

I appeal to the Senſe of the Nation, daily uttered in their Addreſſes to the Parliament for Relief and Vengeance, whether *Cato*'s Sentiments are not the ſame with theirs; and I ap-

ſpeal to the Sufferings, the heavy, melancholly Sufferings of the People, whether either *Cato* or they ſpeak thus without Grounds.

The Grounds are too viſible, and their Allegations too true —— Hence the Rage of Guilt, which is more gall'd by Truth, than Innocence is hurt by Lies: And hence I have heard it obſerved, concerning a certain Set of Worthies, that they do not care what Falſhoods you publiſh concerning them, but will never forgive you if you meddle with Facts.

For certain Gentlemen to find Fault with *Cato*'s Letters, is to avow their own Shame. Why was there Occaſion given for thoſe Letters? Some other Queſtions might be asked too, which would diſcover freſh Blackneſs in theſe Betrayers, were they not already all over black. Who is it that might have checked, and yet did not check rampant Rogues laſt Summer? And from what Motives proceeded ſuch Omiſſion? Who is it that openly ſcreens open Guilt? Who is it that conceals the Evidence of Guilt? Who is it that browbeats the Purſuers of Guilt? Who is it that throws Obſtacles in the Parliament's Way? Who is it that lengthens out the Proceſs? Who is it that ſtrives to defeat the Enquiry? Who is it that makes Malecontents, and then reproaches them for being ſo?

In vain they fall upon *Cato* with lying Reproaches, falſe Pictures, and ugly Names: Their Conduct bewrays them; by making him of every Party, they ſhew him to be of none; as he has ſhewed himſelf to be of none. I thought it, however, not amiſs, thus once for all

all to make his Apology, and to ſhew what are his Crimes, and who his Enemies. His great Guilt is, that he will not ſpare Guilt; and the great Objection to his Writings is, that they cannot be anſwered. Let the Reader judge whether I have miſrepreſented him or his Foes, who are no other than the late Directors, their Friends and Confederates.

As to the poor Weekly Journeymen of the Preſs, whoſe Principle is the ready Penny, and who, for a Morſel, defile Paper and blot Reputations without hurting them, they deſerve no Reſentment. It is their Profeſſion to do what they are bid, when they are paid for it. A Church is not the leſs ſacred, becauſe Curs frequently lift up their Leg againſt it, and affront the Wall: It is the Nature of Dogs. They therefore are and ought to be pitied and overlook'd; the Buſineſs of this Letter to you, Sir, being to expoſe the falſe and unjuſt Cenſures of ſome, who bear a greater Figure than ſuch harmleſs Weekly Writers, without poſſeſſing more Honeſty.

The Conjectures of theſe Creatures about the Perſon of *Cato*, afford Matter of Mirth. They will needs know him right or wrong. Let them gueſs on; whatever they gueſs, I will venture to pronounce them Lyars, tho' they ſhould gueſs truly; ſince without being able to do any thing more than gueſs, they yet go on to affirm; which no honeſt Man would do without competent Evidence.

I am, Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

PORTIUS.

SIR,

I Would willingly propagate and preſerve the following Order of Council, as a Monument of His Majeſty's great Zeal for Virtue and Religion. It is publiſh'd in the *Gazette* of the 29th of *April*, in the following Words:

At the Court of St. *James's*, the 28th Day of *April*, 1721.

PRESENT,

The King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council.

"HIS Majeſty having received Information, which gives great Reaſon to "ſuſpect that there have lately been, and ſtill "are, in and about the Cities of *London* and "*Weſtminſter*, certain ſcandalous Clubs or Societies of young Perſons, who meet together, "and in the moſt impious and blaſphemous "Manner inſult the moſt ſacred Principles of "our Holy Religion, affront Almighty God "himſelf, and corrupt the Minds and Morals "of one another; and being reſolved to make "uſe of all the Authority committed to him "by Almighty God, to puniſh ſuch enormous "Offenders, and to cruſh ſuch ſhocking Impieties before they encreaſe and draw down "the Vengeance of God upon this Nation:

"His

" His Majeſty has thought fit to command " the Lord Chancellor, and his Lordſhip is " hereby required, to call together His Ma- " jeſty's Juſtices of the Peace of *Middleſex* and " *Weſtminſter*, and ſtrictly to enjoin them, in " the moſt effectual Manner, that they, and " every of them, do make the moſt diligent " and careful Enquiry and Search for the Diſ- " covery of any Thing of this and the like " Sort, tending in any wiſe to the Corruption " of the Principles and Manners of Men; and " to lay before his Lordſhip ſuch Diſcoveries " as from Time to Time may be made, to the " End that all proper Methods may be taken " for the utter Suppreſſion of all ſuch deteſtable " Practices. His Lordſhip is further directed " to urge them to the due Execution of their " Office, in detecting and proſecuting with " Vigour all Profaneneſs, Immorality, and " Debauchery, as they value the Bleſſing of " Almighty God, as they regard the Happineſs " of their Country, which cannot ſubſiſt if " Things ſacred and virtuous are trampled up- " on, and as they tender his Majeſty's Favour, " to which they cannot recommend themſelves " more effectually than by ſhewing the utmoſt " Zeal upon ſo important an Occaſion; to " which End his Lordſhip is to acquaint them, " that as His Majeſty for himſelf has nothing " more at Heart than to regard the Honour of " God, ſo impiouſly ſtruck at, and is deter- " mined to ſhew all Marks of Diſpleaſure and " Diſcouragement to any who may lie even " under the Suſpicion of ſuch Practices; ſo he " ſhall always account it the greateſt and moſt

"ſubſtantial Service they can do to His Ma-
"jeſty or his Government, to exert themſelves
"in diſcovering any who are guilty of ſuch
"Impieties, that they may be openly proſecu-
"ted and puniſhed with the utmoſt Severity
"and moſt publick Ignominy which the Laws
"of the Land can inflict.

EDWARD SOUTHWELL.

To this it is added, in the ſame *Gazette*, "That His Majeſty has been pleas'd to give "Orders to the Principal Officers of His "Houſhold, to make ſtrict and diligent En-"quiry, whether any of His Majeſty's Ser-"vants are guilty of the horrid Impieties "mentioned in the Order of Council inſerted "above, and to make a Report thereof to "His Majeſty."

Theſe Societies muſt certainly be as diſtracted as they are impious. I have indeed been in doubt till now, whether there really were any ſuch; but I am in no doubt about the Puniſh-ment they deſerve: I think it ought to be the moſt ſevere that is due to ſuch raving Wicked-neſs, which is ſuch, as neither Youth nor Wine can excuſe, nor indeed extenuate; and till they are further puniſhed, I think the darkeſt Holes in *Bedlam* ought to be their Portion. But out-rageous and godleſs as they are, they do not merit more Deteſtation and Severity, than do thoſe who inhumanely give out, that Gentle-men who abhor ſuch Clubs are Members of them: The Authors of ſo dreadful a Calumny are much worſe than Murtherers; becauſe they

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endeavour to take away from Men ſomething much dearer than Life: They are therefore in the Claſs with Dæmons, and earn ſuch mighty Vengeance as God only can inflict.

The above Order of Council is very juſt and religious, and of excellent Uſe and Example: So much Zeal cannot ſtop at a Club or two of pernicious, tho' private Sinners; but doubtleſs extends to other Criminals, more publick and conſiderable, and even more deſtructive. The greateſt Part of the Wickedneſs done by thoſe thoughtleſs young Wretches, is done to themſelves, and like to remain with them; there being little Probability that they will ever make many Proſelytes to their aſtoniſhing Frenzies: Whereas the other great Criminals, for the ſole Sake of doing good to themſelves, have undone almoſt every Man in *England*, with *England* it ſelf into the Bargain. They ſet Three Nations to ſale, and themſelves fixing the Price, were themſelves the Buyers: They purchas'd our Happineſs, and paid us in Want and Sorrow. Every good Man is Proof againſt the Contagion of Profaneneſs; but Virtue and Goodneſs ſtood us in no ſtead againſt our Money-Monſters, who having robb'd all honeſt Men, made a Jeſt of Honeſty it ſelf. Can there be greater Evils under the Sun, than rampant Plunderers, abandon'd Corruption, and devouring Calamity? Or are there any other Evils which theſe do not produce?

We therefore take it for granted, That *as his Majeſty is determin'd to ſhew all Marks of Diſpleaſure and Diſcouragement to any who may even lye*

lye under the Suſpicion of ſuch deſtructive *Practices; ſo he will always account it the moſt ſubſtantial Service* we *can do to* him *and his Government, to exert* ourſelves *in diſcovering any who are guilty of ſuch* unparallel'd Frauds, ſuch *National Wickedneſs; that they may be openly proſecuted, and puniſh'd with the utmoſt Severity, and moſt publick Ignominy that the* Legiſlature *can inflict.*

And, as "His Majeſty has been pleas'd to "give Orders to the Principal Officers of his "Houſhold, to make ſtrict and diligent En- "quiry, whether any of His Majeſty's Ser- "vants are guilty of the horrid Impieties "mentioned in the Order of Council inſerted "above, and to make Report thereof to "His Majeſty:" So we may aſſure our ſelves, that the ſame ſevere Enquiry has been already made, whether any of thoſe in Truſt under His Majeſty, or about his Perſon, have ſtain'd their Hands, diſhonour'd their Maſter, and provok'd Almighty God, by promoting or embarking in any of the horrid and ſpreading Miſchiefs, practis'd laſt Year by the late *South-Sea* Directors, and their Confederates.

An Enquiry into Religion, and the private Morals of Men, is not inconſiſtent with an Enquiry into Civil and Publick Villainies; nor can the former ever prove a Bone of Contention to divert the latter, whatever the Wicked and the Guilty may hope, and the Honeſt and Diſtreſſed may apprehend. Freſh Objects of Horror and Averſion cannot leſſen our general Deteſtation for thoſe, who ought to be beyond all others deteſted. While we purſue Wolves and Tygers, and the mightier Beaſts of Prey,

who

who if they are not deſtroyed will continue to deſtroy, we are not to be diverted by the Scent of a Fox or Badger, tho' they may annoy a private Neighbourhood, and diſpeople Hen-rooſts.

Our publick Virtue is the beſt and ſureſt Proof we can give of our private Piety: Piety and Juſtice are inſeparable; and Prayers ſaid Ten times a Day, will not attone for a Murder or a Robbery committed once a Month: Appearances go for nothing, when Facts contradict them. The readieſt Way therefore to ſhew that our Hearts are pure, is to ſhew that our Hands are clean, and that we will puniſh thoſe that have foul ones.

Here is a Teſt of our Virtue and Innocence!

Let us hang up publick Rogues, as well as puniſh private Blaſphemers. The Obſervance of Religion, and the Neglect of Juſtice, are Contradictions. Let any Man ask himſelf, Whether a Nation is more hurt by a few giddy, unthinking young Wretches, talking madly in their Drink; or by open, deliberate and publick Depredations committed by a Junto of Veteran Knaves, who add to the Injury, and to their own Guilt, by a Shew of Gravity, and a canting Pretence to Religion? The late Directors all pretended to be good Chriſtians. I would ask one Queſtion more; namely, Whether it had not been better for *England*, that the late Directors, and their Maſters, had ſpent their Nights and their Days in the *Hell-Fire-Club*, than in contriving and executing execrable Schemes, to ruin *England*? Pray, which of the Two is your greater Enemy; he who robs you of all you have, but neither curſes nor ſwears

ſwears at you; or he who only curſes you or himſelf, and takes nothing from you?

Where Juſtice is exactly obſerved, Religion will be obſerved; and to pretend to be very ſtrict about the Latter, without minding the Former, would be highly abſurd and ridiculous. Virtue neceſſarily produces Religion, and is it ſelf Religion; and Profaneneſs and Irreligion will ever and neceſſarily follow Corruption, the prolifick Parent of numberleſs Miſchiefs.

Private Profaneneſs is not therefore half ſo terrible to humane Society, as publick Roguery and publick Robbery. The Happineſs of Mankind is ſurely the Cauſe of God; and whenever I hear of Arrets and Edicts made by Popiſh and Tyrannical foreign Princes, in Favour of Religion; I conſider them as ſo many Mockeries of God, whoſe Creatures they, at the ſame Time, grind and deſtroy. As conſiſtently might they pretend great Zeal for obſerving religiouſly the Sixth Command, and yet murder by War and Famine Ten Thouſand of their Subjects a Week.

James Nailor was ſeverely puniſhed for Blaſphemy; Is there any Compariſon, as to their Effects, between the Crime of *James Nailor*, and the Crimes of the late Directors and their Seconds and Abettors? *James Nailor* (being himſelf deluded) miſled a few ignorant People, whoſe Error was their greateſt Crime: But our modern Impoſtors, our *South-Sea* Deceivers, have actually and wilfully plunder'd their Country of near Thirty Millions of Money, and involved it in univerſal Confuſion and Want.

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It is therefore a ſenſible Pleaſure to us, to behold His Majeſty and His Miniſtry engaged with ſo much Zeal in vindicating our Property as well as our Religion. His Majeſty, in particular, has condeſcended with unparalell'd, I am ſure uncommon Goodneſs, to tell the Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen, that *he has no Share in the late wicked Management.* This is a Piece of Royal Grace, with which, I believe, never any Subjects were bleſſed before. From hence we may draw a freſh Aſſurance of His Majeſty's Alacrity and Readineſs, to puniſh the execrable Authors of that wicked Management, who are alſo the greateſt Enemies to his Crown and Dignity.

"His Majeſty being reſolved to make uſe of "all the Authority committed to him by Al-"mighty God, to puniſh ſuch enormous Of-"fenders, and to cruſh ſuch ſhocking Impie-"ties, before they encreaſe and draw down the "Vengeance of God upon this Nation:" I ſay, His Majeſty being thus zealous for Religion and the Nation, will never ſuffer the Authors of the greateſt Evil, the higheſt Villainy ever committed in this Nation, to eſcape unpuniſhed. Has ever a heavier Judgment befallen our Nation, than the laſt Year's mercileſs Rapine? And can there be greater Enemies to God and Man, than the Authors of it? Monſters, who were for plucking up all Vertue and all Property by the Roots. Oh, that their Succeſs had not increaſed their Guilt! They acted as if they did not believe that there was a God who judged the World, and as if they defied all humane Tribunals, as well as the Divine.

Divine. Theſe are the Atheiſts terrible to Society; and this is the Atheiſm wofully and univerſally felt. Deſolation and Miſery are the Occupation and Sport of Devils, and they their Vicegerents who promote them.

He who talks profanely of Things ſacred, is a wicked Man, and as ill bred as he is wicked: But he who wantonly fills a Country, a glorious and happy Country, with Want, Woe, and Sorrow; griping Want, diſmal Woe, and piercing Sorrow; what Name, what Torture, what Death does he not deſerve? He is a Deſtroyer-General —— He is a mad Dog, with ten thouſand Mouths, who ſcatters Poiſon, Wounds, and Death, all around him.

I ſhall conclude in the ſtrong Words of the above Order of Council; namely, That as we *value the Bleſſing of Almighty God, as we regard the Happineſs of our Country, which cannot ſubſiſt if Things ſacred and virtuous* (and ſuch are private Property, publick Faith, and publick Juſtice,) *are trampled upon: and as* we *tender his Majeſty's Favour, to which we cannot recommend* our ſelves *more effectually, than by ſhewing the utmoſt Zeal upon ſo important an Occaſion*: I ſay, as we value all theſe, let us be warm, bold, and active in the Diſcovery and Puniſhment of *ſuch enormous Offenders; and to cruſh ſuch ſhocking Miſchiefs, before they increaſe, and draw down the Vengeance of God upon this Nation.*

I am, &c.

P. S. I, who hate to ſee the Puniſhment of any ſort of great Wickedneſs linger, do here propoſe an

an Expedient to come at a Certainty about the blaſphemous Clubs: Let a Reward be publickly offered for the Diſcovery of any of their Members, to be paid upon their legal Conviction; and in the mean time, let us not caſt random Reproaches upon particular Men; leſt, by falling upon the Innocent, they return double upon our ſelves. It is baſe and diſhoneſt to feign Crimes that are not; and where they really are, it is barbarous and diabolical to father them upon the Guiltleſs: He who charges upon another a Crime that deſerves the Gallows, does, if it proves falſe, pronounce Sentence againſt himſelf, and proclaim his own Right to *Tyburn*: As, on the other Hand, he who skreens from the Gallows thoſe that deſerve it, adopts their Title to the Halter, and ought to ſwing in their Room.

Can there be greater Juſtice and Impartality than this? And I aſſure you, Sir, I heartily wiſh they may take place.

SIR,

I Send you another excellent Letter of the great *Brutus*. They who ſay I forged the laſt, make me as great a Complement as ever was made to Man; ſince whoever could write that Letter, is, without reflecting on my Cotemporaries, certainly the greateſt Man of the Age.

To

To the former Letter, I gave you an hiſtorical Introduction; I ſhall give you another to this.

Brutus and *Caſſius*, after the Death of *Cæſar*, having left *Rome*; *Octavius*, *Cæſar*'s Nephew, arrived there: He was no more than Nineteen Years old; and the firſt Thing of Note that happened to him, was a Quarrel with *Mark Anthony*, who treated him like a Child, with Contempt, and indeed was grown inſupportable to all the World. *Cicero* and *Anthony* being then declared Enemies, *Octavius* was perſwaded by his Friends to throw himſelf into the Arms of *Cicero*. Hence began their Friendſhip, equally deſirable to both: *Cicero* governed the Senate, and *Octavius* had the Hearts of his Uncle's Soldiers, with great Treaſure to gain new Friends, and carry on new Deſigns. *Mark Anthony* was the common Enemy of both, and of the Republick, which he as outrageouſly attacked, as *Cicero* warmly defended.

This Quarrel gave Occaſion to thoſe Orations of *Cicero*, called the *Philippicks*; which are eternal Monuments of his Love for his Country, as well as of the marvellous Eloquence of that Great Man.

Cicero and *Octavius* ſucceeded; they got the better of *Mark Anthony*, and drove him out of *Rome*. But by his Intereſt and Activity, he ſoon gathered ſuch a Force, as he thought ſufficient to make himſelf Maſter of *Rome*; which therefore he prepared to attack and poſſeſs by downright Violence. But *Octavius* having levied, at his own Expence, an Army, compos'd moſtly of the Veteran Troops of *Cæſar*, oppos'd

pos'd the March of *Anthony*, and diverted that dreadful Storm from the City. *Cicero*, who had undertaken the Defence of *Octavius* from his firſt Arrival at *Rome*, and laboured to fortify his Cauſe by the Authority of the Senate, was not wanting to extol this firſt Service of *Octavius* for the Republick. Hence extraordinary Honours were decreed him; that he ſhould be made Proprætor, and in that Quality, Commander of the Army; that a Recompence ſhould be given to his Troops; that he ſhould be received into the Number of the Senators; that he might, before he came of Age, demand all the other greateſt Dignities of the Commonwealth; and even that a Statue ſhould be erected to him.

In the mean Time *Anthony*, thus repuls'd by *Octavius*, march'd into the *Ciſalpine Gaul*, to drive from thence *Decimus Brutus*, its Governour, a Kinſman of our *Brutus*, and one of the *Tyrannicides*. That Governour, being unprovided of Forces ſufficient to fight *Anthony*, retired into the City of *Modena*, a *Roman* Colony, and there ſhutting himſelf up, expected Succours from the Senate. *Anthony* in the Interim lays Siege to the Place, in hopes that being once Maſter of that City, he would ſoon be ſo of *Gaul*, and afterwards be enabled to return into *Italy*, with a Power ſufficient to conquer *Rome*, where he meant to erect a Dominion as abſolute as was that of *Cæſar*.

That Siege occaſioned frequent Meetings of the Senate, where, in fine, *Mark Anthony* was declared an Enemy to the Commonwealth; and both the Conſuls, *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, were

ſent

ſent with an Army to relieve *Decimus Brutus*: With the Conſuls, *Octavius* was likewiſe ſent.

During all theſe Tranſactions, our *Brutus* and *Caſſius* having ſtaid ſome Time in *Italy*, after their leaving *Rome*, were now retired to their Governments, *Brutus* to *Macedonia*, and *Caſſius* to *Syria*, and both were levying Men, and forming Armies, for the Defence of the Commonwealth.

As to *Cicero*, he was now in the Zenith of Power, and governed all Things at *Rome*: He particularly preſided in the Senate, as the moſt ancient Conſular, during the Abſence of the Two Conſuls. In this Situation, he was wonderfully curious to know what was the Opinion of *Brutus* concerning himſelf and his Adminiſtration. It is certain *Brutus* had his higheſt Eſteem; and he thought that if he could procure the Eſteem of *Brutus*, it would be an eminent Proof of his own Virtue and Merit, as well as the moſt glorious Reward of that Virtue and Merit. *Brutus* had, in all his Letters, been very ſilent with him upon this Head. *Cicero* therefore makes uſe of *Atticus*, their common Friend, to ſift *Brutus*, and know his Sentiments. As ſoon, therefore, as it was known at *Rome*, that the Siege of *Modena* was rais'd, and *Anthony* defeated by the Two Conſuls and *Octavius*, *Atticus* diſpatch'd the News to *Brutus*, and in his Letter ſounded him about his Thoughts of *Cicero*.

The following Letter is a frank and open Anſwer to that of *Atticus*. In it he juſtly condemns *Cicero*'s over violent Hatred to *Mark Anthony*, which betray'd him into as unreaſonable

able an Affection and Deference for *Octavius*, his Champion againſt *Anthony*. *Cicero* ſaw his Error at laſt, but ſaw it too late; the Power and Credit to which he had raiſed *Octavius*, coſt him his Life, and *Rome* her Liberty. *Cicero*, who was the Author of all the Greatneſs and Authority of *Octavius*, was by *Octavius* given up to the Rage and Slaughter of *Mark Anthony*, againſt whom *Octavius* had been generouſly defended and ſupported by *Cicero*: And *Octavius* enſlaved the Commonwealth with thoſe very Arms, which the Commonwealth had truſted with him for her Protection. So early had the pious *Auguſtus* learn'd the Arts and Gratitude of an Abſolute Monarch.

I am, &c.

BRUTUS to *ATTICUS*.

"YOU tell me, that *Cicero* wonders why, "in any of my Letters, I have never "diſcovered to him my Sentiments concerning "his Management and Adminiſtration at *Rome*: "I therefore diſcover thoſe Sentiments to you, "ſince you are ſo earneſt to know them.

"I know well the Sincerity and great Up-"rightneſs of *Cicero*'s Intentions: His Paſſion "for the Good of the Commonwealth is in-"deed evident and remarkable. But prudent "and wiſe as he is, he has given Proofs of a "Zeal which is imprudent, and a Heart that "is vain: I leave it to you to judge, which "of theſe ſway'd him, when more forward "than well adviſed, he drew upon himſelf the

"Hatred

" Hatred of ſo terrible a Foe as *Mark Anthony*.
" This he meant for the Good of the Com-
" monwealth; but it has had a contrary Ef-
" fect, ſince by it, inſtead of bridling, as he
" propoſed, the dangerous Power of *Octavius*,
" he has further animated his Ambition and
" raiſed his Aims. Beſides, ſuch is the fatal
" Complaiſance of *Cicero* for that Man, that
" he cannot help ſpeaking of my ſelf and the
" Patriots of my Country, with ſevere and
" bitter Language; which, however, returns
" double upon himſelf: If we have put one
" Man to Death, he has put many. We kil-
" led *Cæſar*, and he the Aſſociates of *Cataline*.
" If therefore *Caſca*, who gave *Cæſar* the firſt
" Blow, is a Murtherer, as *Cicero*, to pleaſe
" *Octavius*, calls him; *Cicero* himſelf is one,
" and muſt confeſs himſelf one, and his great
" Enemy *Beſtia* is juſtified in calling him ſo.

" How! becauſe we have not the Ides of
" *March*, in which we diſpatched *Cæſar*, eter-
" nally in our Mouths, as *Cicero* has the Nones
" of *December*, in which he ſuppreſſed the
" Conſpiracy of *Catiline*, and which he is for
" ever celebrating upon all Occaſions; does he
" take Advantage of our Modeſty and his own
" Vanity, and find from hence more Reaſon
" to blame a glorious Deed done by us for
" Mankind, than *Clodius* and *Beſtia* had to
" condemn, as they always did, his own ſevere
" Conduct when he was Conſul?

" *Cicero* every where boaſts that he ſuſtained
" the War againſt *Anthony*; and yet No-body
" ever ſaw *Cicero* out of a Gown, and Words
" were his Weapons. But let it be ſo, that

" he

" he has defeated *Anthony*; where is the Victo-
" ry, if, curing one Miſchief, it introduces a
" worſe? And what avails it to have extin-
" guiſhed the Tyranny of *Anthony*, if he who
" has done it, erects another in its Room more
" terrible, by being more durable? And yet
" thus it will be if we ſuffer it. Theſe are
" Articles in the Conduct of *Cicero*, which
" ſhew that it is not the Tyrant nor the Ty-
" ranny that he fears; but it is only *Anthony*,
" that he fears. If a Man will have a Tyrant,
" it is all one to me, whether he be more or
" leſs outrageous; it is the Thing, it is the
" having a Tyrant, which I dread.

" That *Cicero* is haſtening to ſet up a Tyrant,
" is plain from Actions as viſible as ſad. *Octavius*
" is all in all; a Triumph is decreed him; his
" Troops have Largeſſes given them; he is
" loaded with Flatteries, he is covered with
" Honours. What Shame for *Cicero* to behold
" all this, and his own abject Poſture! His
" publick Behaviour, and the Speeches and
" Motions he makes in the Senate, all centring
" in his Maſter; are they not a Scandal to the
" great Figure of that great Conſular, and a
" Stain upon the renowned Name of *Cicero*?

" You will read this with Pain, as with Pain
" I write it; but it is a Task you have put
" upon me. Beſides, I know your Thoughts
" of our publick Affairs, and that deſperate
" and extraordinary as they are, you think,
" contrary to all Appearance, they may be
" remedied by Means that are ordinary. I do
" not however blame you, my dear *Atticus*;
" comfort your ſelf with Hope, it is agreeable

" to

" to your Age, to the Sweetneſs of your Tem-
" per, and to your Regard for your Children:
" I do not therefore wonder that you are indo-
" lent and ſanguine; which Diſpoſition of
" yours appears ſtill further to me from the
" Account my Friend *Flavius* gave me of what
" paſs'd between you and him.

" But to return to *Cicero*; pray where is the
" Difference between him and the ſervile *Sal-*
" *videnus?* Could that baſe Retainer to *Octa-*
" *vius* ſtruggle for the Glory of his Maſter
" with more Labour and Zeal, than does
" *Cicero?* You will ſay perhaps, *Cicero* dreads
" ſtill the Remains of the Civil War. This is
" wild: Can any one dread a beaten Enemy,
" and yet apprehend nothing from the formi-
" dable Power of one who commands a great
" Army, elevated by Victory; nor from the
" Raſhneſs of a young Man, who may con-
" quer the Commonwealth by the Means
" which enabled him to conquer for it? Does
" *Cicero* therefore make this mighty Court to
" *Octavius*, becauſe having given him ſo much,
" he thinks 'tis dangerous not to give him all?
" Oh the wretched Folly of Cowardice! thus
" to leſſen your own Security by conſulting it;
" and to encreaſe Tyranny becauſe you fear it!
" Is it not better to have nothing at all to fear,
" than thus to compound for the Degrees of
" Fear.

" The Truth is, we too much dread Po-
" verty, Baniſhment, and Death; and our
" Imagination ſwells their Terrors beyond
" Bounds. There are greater Evils than thoſe;
" and *Cicero* is miſtaken if he thinks there are

" not

" not. And yet all goes well with him, if he " is but humour'd, if his Opinion is regarded, " if his Suits are granted, and if he is court- " ed and extolled: He has no Quarrel to Ser- " vitude, provided it be accompanied with " Honour and Luſtre; if there can be any ſuch " Thing as Honour and Luſtre in this loweſt, " this vileſt Lot of humane Nature.

" *Octavius* may indeed call him Father *Cicero*, " refer every Thing to his Counſel, ſooth him " with Praiſes, and ſhew great Gratitude and " Fondneſs towards him, while he loſes nothing " by all this; which is only a fair Outſide and " fine Words. Facts ſpeak the plaineſt Truth, " and they effectually contradict the above Ap- " pearances. For, can there be a greater In- " ſult upon common Senſe, than for *Octavius* " to take for a Father, that Man who is no " longer in the Number of Freemen?

" Whither then tend all theſe Compliances, " all this Zeal of *Cicero* for *Octavius*? Why, " only to this, That *Octavius* may be propitious " to *Cicero*. In this little, worthleſs, ſhameful " Point, centre all the Actions and Deſigns of " the Great *Cicero*! Hence it is that I value no " longer, in the Perſon of *Cicero*, thoſe Arts " and Accompliſhments with which, doubtleſs, " his Soul is vaſtly repleniſh'd. What is he the " better, himſelf, for ſo many excellent Pre- " cepts, ſo many noble Diſcourſes, every " where found in his Works, concerning pub- " lick Liberty, true and ſolid Glory, the Con- " tempt of Death, Exile, and Want? How much " better does *Philippus* underſtand all thoſe fine " Rules laid down by *Cicero*, than *Cicero* him-

" ſelf does; who pays more Homage to *Octa-*
" *vius*, than *Philippus*, who is Father-in-Law
" to *Octavius*, pays?

" Let *Cicero* therefore ceaſe glorying thus
" vainly in our Grief, which alſo ought to be
" his. For, to repeat what I have already ſaid,
" What Advantage can we draw from a Victo-
" ry, which only tranſlates the pernicious Power
" of *Mark Anthony* to a new Uſurper? And yet
" by your Letter, I perceive that it is ſtill a Doubt
" whether *Mark Anthony* be intirely defeated.

" After all, ſince *Cicero* can live a Dependent
" and a Slave, let him live a Dependent and
" a Slave. It ought not to be otherwiſe, if he
" can thus ſhamefully forget his reverend Age,
" the illuſtrious Honours he has born, and the
" memorable Parts he has perform'd.

" For my ſelf, while I live I will make War
" upon Tyranny; that is, upon all exorbitant
" Power that lifts Men above the Laws: Nor
" can any Condition of Servitude, however
" advantageous and alluring, divert me from
" this great, this worthy Purpoſe: Nor could
" *Anthony* ſhake it, tho' he really were, what
" you ſay he is, a Man of Worth; a Character
" which contradicts my conſtant Opinion of
" him. The Judgment and Spirit of our An-
" ceſtors are mine; they would not have their
" Father for their Tyrant, nor would I.

" All this Oppenneſs to you is the Reſult of
" my Affection for you; nor could I have ſaid
" ſo much, had I not loved you as well as
" *Cicero* thinks he is beloved by *Octavius*. That
" all theſe ſad Truths affect not you ſo much
" as they do me, is my Concern; eſpecially

" ſince

" ſince to an eminent Fondneſs for all your
" Friends, you have added a particular Fond-
" neſs for *Cicero*. As to my ſelf, I beg you to
" believe that my Affection for him is ſtill the
" ſame, tho' my Eſteem of him is greatly a-
" bated: Nor can I help it, it being impoſſi-
" ble to judge ill or well of Men and Things,
" but according as they appear ill or well.

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SIR,

THE Study of humane Nature has, ever ſince I could ſtudy any Thing, been a principal Pleaſure and Employment of mine; a Study as uſeful, as the Diſcoveries made by it are for the moſt part melancholly. It cannot but be irkſome to a good-natur'd Man, to find that there is nothing ſo terrible or miſchievous, but humane Nature is capable of it; and yet he who knows little of humane Nature, will never know much of the Affairs of the World, which every where derive their Motion and Situation from the Humours and Paſſions of Men.

It ſhews the violent Bent of humane Nature to Evil, that even the Chriſtian Religion has not been able to tame the reſtleſs Appetites of Men, always puſhing them into Enormities and Violences, in direct Oppoſition to the Spirit and Declarations of the Goſpel, which

commands us to *do unto all Men what we would have all Men do unto us.* The general Practice of the World is an open Contradiction and Contempt of this excellent, this divine Rule; which alone, were it obſerv'd, would reſtore Honeſty and Happineſs to Mankind, who, in their preſent State of Corruption, are for ever dealing treacherouſly or outrageouſly with one another, out of an ill-judg'd Fondneſs for themſelves.

Nay, the peaceable, the beneficent, the forgiving Chriſtian Religion, is made the Cauſe of perpetual Hatred, Animoſity, Quarrels, Violence, Devaſtation, and Oppreſſion; and the Apoſtles, in ſpight of all their Poverty, Diſintereſtedneſs, and Love of Mankind, are made to juſtify their pretended Succeſſors of the Church of *Rome*, in engroſſing to themſelves the Wealth and Power of the Earth; and in bringing Mankind under a Yoke of Servitude, more terrible, more extenſive, and more ſevere, than all the Arts and Deluſions of Paganiſm could ever bring them under: Of ſo much more Force with the corrupt World, are the deſtructive Villainies and Falſifications of Men, than the benevolent and heavenly Precepts of Jeſus Chriſt.

The Truth is, and it is a melancholly Truth, that where humane Laws do not tie Mens Hands from Wickedneſs, Religion too ſeldom does; and the moſt certain Security we have againſt Violence, is the Security of the Laws. Hence it is, that the making of Laws ſuppoſes all Men naturally wicked, and the ſureſt Mark of Virtue is the Obſervation of Laws that are virtuous:

ous: If therefore we would look for Virtue in a Nation, we muſt look for it in the Nature of their Government; the Name and Model of their Religion being no certain Symptom nor Cauſe of their Virtue. The *Italians* profeſs the Chriſtian Religion, and the *Turks* are all Infidels; Are the *Italians* therefore more virtuous than the *Turks?* I believe no Body will ſay that they are; at leaſt thoſe of them that live under Abſolute Princes: On the contrary, it is certain, that as the Subjects of the Great *Turk* are not more miſerable than thoſe of the Pope, ſo neither are they more wicked.

Of all the Paſſions which belong to humane Nature, *Self-love* is the ſtrongeſt, and the Root of all the reſt; or, rather all the different Paſſions are only ſeveral Names for the ſeveral Operations of Self-love. " *Self-love*, ſays the Duke of *Rochefoucault*, *is the Love of one's ſelf, and of every Thing elſe for one's own Sake: It makes a Man the Idolater of himſelf, and the Tyrant of others.* He obſerves, that Man is a Mixture of Contrarieties, imperious and ſupple, ſincere and falſe, fearful and bold, merciful and cruel: He can ſacrifice every Pleaſure to the getting of Riches, and all his Riches to a Pleaſure: He is fond of his Preſervation, and yet ſometimes eager after his own Deſtruction: He can flatter thoſe he hates, and deſtroy thoſe he loves.

This is a Picture of Mankind; and they who ſay that it is a falſe one, ought to ſhew that they deſerve a better. I have ſometimes thought, that it was ſcarce poſſible to aſſert any thing concerning Mankind, be it ever ſo good, or ever ſo evil, but it will prove true. They are

naturally Innocent, and yet fall naturally into the Practice of Vice; and the greateſt Inſtances of Virtue and Villainy are to be found in one and the ſame Perſon; and perhaps one and the ſame Motive produces both. The Obſervance or Non-obſervance of a few frivolous Cuſtoms, ſhall unite them in ſtrict Friendſhip and Confederacy, or ſet them a cutting one another's Throats.

They never regard one another as Men and rational Beings, and upon the Foot of their common Humanity; but are cemented or divided by the Force of Words and Habits—Conſiderations that are a Diſgrace to Reaſon! The not being born in the ſame Climate, or on this Side ſuch a River, or ſuch a Mountain, or the not wearing the like Garments, or uttering the like Sounds, or having the ſame Thoughts or Taſte, are all ſo many Cauſes of intenſe Hatred, and ſometimes of Mortal War. Whatever Men think or do, eſpecially if they have found a good Name for it, be it ever ſo fooliſh or bad, is wiſeſt and beſt in their own Eyes: But this is not all; we will needs be plaguing our Neighbours, if they do not quit upon our Authority their own Thoughts and Practices for ours.

It fills me with Concern, when I conſider how Men uſe one another; and how wretchedly their Paſſions are employ'd: They ſcarce ever have proper Objects for their Paſſions; they will hate a Man for what he cannot help, and what does them no harm; and yet bleſs and pray for Villains that kill and oppreſs them. There never was ſuch a dreadful Tribunal under

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the Sun as the *Inquiſition*: A Tribunal, againſt which the moſt Innocent is not ſafe, and to which the moſt virtuous Men are moſt expoſed; a Tribunal, where all the Malice, all the ſagacious Cruelty, all the Bitterneſs, and all the Fury and Falſhood of Devils are exerted, and all the Tortures of Hell are imitated and practiſed; and yet this very Tribunal is ſo dear to the People, tho' it terrifies them, enſlaves them, and deſtroys them, that rather than part with it, they would part with all that is left them. Upon the Surrender of *Barcelona*, in the late War, the Inhabitants capitulated, that the *Inquiſition* ſhould not be taken from them: And even here in *England*, we may remember the Time when Men have been knock'd down for ſaying that they had a Right to defend their Property by Force, when a Tyrant attempted to rob them of it againſt Law. To ſuch a Pitch of Stupidity and Diſtraction are People to be brought by thoſe who belie Almighty God, and falſify his Word to ſatiate worldly Pride; and ſuch Dupes and Furies are Men to one another!

Every Thing is ſo perverted and abus'd, and the beſt Things moſt, that a very wiſe Man had but too much Reaſon to ſay, that *Truth did not ſo much Good in the World, as the Appearance and Pretence of it did Evil.* Thus the ſaving of Mens Souls is ſo univerſally underſtood to be a great and glorious Bleſſing, that for the Sake of it Men have ſuffer'd, and do ſuffer, the higheſt Miſery and Bondage from the Impoſtors who pretend to give it in the dark Parts of the World, which are by far the greateſt

Parts of the World. And thus Civil Government is the Defence and Security of humane Society; and yet Dr. *Prideaux* makes it a Doubt, *whether the Benefit which the World receives from Government be sufficient to make amends for the Calamities which it suffers from the Follies, Miſtakes, and Male-Adminiſtration of thoſe that manage it.* And thus, to come Home to our ſelves, a Project to pay off the Nation's Debts was ſo tempting, ſo popular and plauſible, that almoſt every Body came into it; and yet ——— The Conſequences ſpeak themſelves.

The *Roman* Senate could flatter and adore a *Nero* and a *Caligula*; and the *Roman* Soldiers could butcher a *Piſo* and a *Pertinax*: It is hard to ſay which were the moſt guilty, the Senate while they worſhipped Tyranny, or the Army while they deſtroyed Virtue. So prone are Men to propagate publick Deſtruction for perſonal Advantages and Security! I can never think without Horror and Trembling upon that diſmal, that bloody Maxim of *Philip* the IId of *Spain*, That *he would rather be Maſter of a Kingdom ruined, miſerable, and quiet, than of a Kingdom rich, powerful, and turbulent.* In purſuance of this Maxim he made his Kingdom a Deſart, by deſtroying and expelling the moſt induſtrious of its Inhabitants, the *Moors*: But *Philip* was very devout, and would frequently waſh a Pilgrim's Feet; that is, he was very civil and charitable to an idle religious Stroler, and a cruel Enemy to the general Happineſs of Mankind.

This puts me in mind of the Hiſtory of *John Baſilowitz*, Great Duke of *Muſcovy*. No

Hiſtory

History of his Time, but speaks of the unheard of Cruelties exercised by him on all sorts of Persons through his whole Reign: They are so horrid, that never any Tyrant did the like; and yet Bishop Paulus Jovius *gives him the Character of a good and devout Christian, though he deserves not to be numbered even amongst Men: It is true, he would go often to Church, say the Service himself, sing, and be present at Ecclesiastical Ceremonies, and execute the Functions of the Monks: But he abused both God and Man, and had no Sentiments of Humanity.* Ambassadors Travels, p. 73, 74.

What a Medley is here of Devotion and Cruelty in the same Men! Nor are these Examples singular. *Louis* the XIth of *France* was a false, a wicked, and an oppressive Prince, and one of the greatest Bigots that ever lived; and some of the greatest Saints in the *Roman* Kalendar were pernicious Villains, and bloody Monsters. No Sect of Bigots, when they are uppermost, are willing to tolerate another; and all ground their ungodly Severity upon their Zeal for Religion; tho' their Want of Charity is a Demonstration that they have no Religion. It is certain, that without universal Charity and Forbearance, a Man cannot be a Christian.

It is wonderful and affecting, to behold how the Ideas of Good and Evil are confounded. The *Turks* place great Devotion in releasing Captive Birds from their Cages, in feeding indigent and mangey Dogs, and building Hospitals for them, and in paying a religious Reverence to Camels: But at the same Time that they thus use Birds and Beasts like Men and

Chriſtians, they uſe Men and Chriſtians worſe than they do Beaſts; and with them it is a lighter Offence to deny Bread to a poor Chriſtian, who is famiſhed in his Chains, than to the Dogs of the Street, which are fit for nothing but to breed Infection. They will load a poor Chriſtian with Irons, and cover him with Stripes, and think they do well and religiouſly in it; and yet make it a Matter of Conſcience not to over-load a Beaſt of Burthen.

In Popiſh Countries, in Caſes where Nature is left to itſelf, as much Compaſſion is ſhewn for the Diſtreſſed as in other Places: Even Thieves, Robbers, and Murderers, are accompanied to the Gallows or the Wheel, with Sighs and Tears, eſpecially of the tender Sex: But when an unhappy Innocent is going to be burned, to be cruelly and ſlowly burned, for his Sincerity and Piety in ſpeaking Truth, and reading the Bible himſelf, or teaching it to others; nothing is to be ſeen but a general Joy, nor to be heard, but loud Cries of Approbation and Conſent; and all Pity, all Sympathy is denied in an Inſtance which calls for the higheſt. Tell a *Spaniſh* Lady of a Popiſh Prieſt hang'd in *England* for Sedition or Murder, ſhe inſtantly falls into Tears and Agonies: Tell her of a Kinſman of hers burned for denying Tranſubſtantiation, ſhe gives Glory to God, and feels a ſenſible Joy.

And, in Proteſtant Countries, how many Men are there, who cheat, ſtarve, and oppreſs all their Life long, to leave an Eſtate at their Death to religious Uſes? As if Men were to

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be Rogues for God's Sake. I have heard of a Man, who having given half of his Eſtate to mend Highways, for the Good of his Country, ſaid, that he would willingly give the other half, that *England* had ne'er a Ship, nor a Merchant, nor a Diſſenter from the Church, belonging to it: Strange Inconſiſtency! By one Act of his, two or three Miles of Cauſeway were kept in good Repair; which was only a Kindneſs to Horſes Hoofs; and by another Act of his, he would have made all *England* miſerable and deſolate.

The Hardſhips and Diſtreſſes of this Year, ſhew too manifeſtly the Rogueries and Depredations of the laſt: Villainy was let looſe amongſt us, and every Man endeavoured to entrap and ruin another, to enrich himſelf. Honeſty was brow-beaten and driven into Corners; Humanity was extinguiſhed; all Friendſhip was aboliſhed; and even the Diſtinction of Kindred and Ties of Blood were diſcarded: A raging Paſſion for immoderate Gain had made Men univerſally and intenſely hard-hearted: They were every where devouring one another. And yet the Directors and their Accomplices, who were the acting Inſtruments of all this outragious Madneſs and Miſchief, ſet up for wonderful pious Perſons, while they were defying Almighty God, and plundering Men; and they ſet apart a Fund of Subſcriptions for charitable Uſes: That is, they mercileſly made a whole People Beggars, and charitably ſupported a few neceſſitous and worthleſs Favourites. I doubt not, but if the Villainy had gone on with Succeſs, they would have had

had their Names handed down to Posterity with Encomiums; as the Names of other publick Robbers have been! We have Historians and Ode-Makers now living, very proper for such a Task. It is certain, that most People did, at one Time, believe the Directors to be great and worthy Persons: And an honest Country Clergyman told me last Summer, upon the Road, that Sir *John* was an excellent publick-spirited Person, for that he had beautified his Chancel.

Upon the Whole, we must not judge of one another by our fair Pretensions and best Actions; since the worst Men do some Good, and all Men make fine Professions: But we must judge of Men by the Whole of their Conduct, and the Effects of it. Thorough Honesty requires great and long Proof; since many a Man, long thought honest, has at length proved a Knave. And it is from judging without Proof, or too little, or false Proof, that Mankind continue unhappy.

I am, &c.

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30 SIR,

I Design in this Letter to lay before the Town, some Thoughts upon Libelling; a Sort of Writing that hurts particular Persons, without doing Good to the Publick; and a Sort of Writing much complained of amongst us at this

this Time, with great Ground, but not more than is pretended.

A Libel is not the leſs a Libel for being true. This may ſeem a Contradiction; but it is neither one in Law, or in common Senſe: There are ſome Truths not fit to be told; where, for Example, the Diſcovery of a ſmall Fault may do great Miſchief; or, where the Diſcovery of a great Fault can do no Good, there ought to be no Diſcovery at all: And to make Faults where there are none, is ſtill worſe.

But this Doctrine only holds true as to private and perſonal Failings; and it is quite otherwiſe when the Crimes of Men come to affect the Publick. Nothing ought to be ſo dear to us as our Country, and nothing ought to come in Competition with its Intereſts. Every Crime againſt the Publick is a great Crime, tho' there be ſome greater than others. Ignorance and Folly may be pleaded in Alleviation of private Offences; but when they come to be publick Offences, they loſe all Benefit of ſuch a Plea: We are then no longer to conſider only to what Cauſes they are owing, but what Evils they may produce; and here we ſhall readily find, that Folly has overturned States, and private Ignorance been the Parent of publick Confuſion.

The expoſing therefore of publick Wickedneſs, as it is a Duty which every Man owes to Truth and his Country, can never be a Libel in the Nature of Things; and they who call it ſo, make themſelves no Compliment. He who is affronted at the reading of the Ten Commandments, would make the Decalogue

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a Libel if he durſt; but he tempts us at the ſame Time to form a Judgment of his Life and Morals not at all to his Advantage: Whoever calls publick and neceſſary Truths Libels, does but apprize us of his own Character, and arm us with Caution againſt his Deſigns. I doubt not but if the late Directors had been above the Parliament, as they once thought themſelves, they would have called the *Votes of the Houſe of Commons* againſt them, *falſe and ſcandalous Libels.*

Machiavel ſays, *Calumny is pernicious, but Accuſation beneficial to a State*: and he ſhews Inſtances where States have ſuffered or periſhed for not having, or for neglecting, the Power to accuſe Great Men who were Criminals, or thought to be ſo; and hence grew the Temptation and Cuſtom of ſlandering and reviling, which was the only Remedy the People had left them: So that the Evil of Calumny was owing to the want of Juſtice, and the People were more blameleſs than thoſe they reviled; who having forced them upon a Licentiouſneſs of Speech, did very unkindly chide and puniſh them for uſing it. Slander is certainly a very baſe and mean Thing: But ſurely it cannot be more pernicious to calumniate even good Men, than not to be able to accuſe ill ones.

I have long thought, that the World are very much miſtaken in their Idea and Diſtinction of Libels. It has been hitherto generally underſtood, that there were no other Libels but thoſe againſt Magiſtrates, and thoſe againſt private Men: Now, to me there ſeems to be a third Sort of Libels, full as deſtructive as

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any of the former can possibly be; I mean, Libels against the People. It was otherwise at *Athens* and *Rome*; where, tho' particular Men, and even great Men, were often treated with much Freedom and Severity, when they deserved it; yet the People, the Body of the People, were spoken of with the utmost Regard and Reverence. *The sacred Privileges of the People, The inviolable Majesty of the People, The awful Authority of the People, and the unappealable Judgment of the People*, were Phrases common in these wise, great, and free Cities. Other Modes of Speech are since grown fashionable, and popular Madness is now almost proverbial: But this Madness of theirs, whenever it happens, is derived from external Causes: *Oppression*, they say, *will make a wise Man mad*; and Delusion has not less Force: But where there are neither Oppressors nor Impostors, the Judgment of the People in the Business of Property, the Preservation of which is the principal Business of Government, does rarely err. Perhaps they are destitute of Grimace, Mystery, Refinements, Shrugs, Dissimulation, and Reserve, and the other Accomplishments of Courtiers: But as these are only Masks to conceal the Absence of Honesty and Sense, the People, who possess as they do the Substance, have Reason to despise such insipid and contemptible Shadows.

1 *Machiavel*, in the Chapter where he proves that a Multitude is wiser and more constant than a Prince, complains, that the Credit the People should be in, declines daily; *For*, says he, *every Man has Liberty to speak what he pleases*

against

againſt them; but againſt a Prince no Man can talk without a thouſand Apprehenſions and Dangers. I have indeed often wondered that the inveighing againſt the Intereſt of the People, and calling their Liberties in Queſtion, as has been, and is commonly done amongſt us by old Knaves and young Fools, has never been made an expreſs Crime.

I muſt own, I know not what Treaſon is, if ſapping and betraying the Liberties of a People be not Treaſon, in the eternal and original Nature of Things: Let it be remembered for whoſe Sake Government is, or could be appointed; and then let it be conſidered, who are more to be regarded, the Governors or the Governed. They indeed owe one another mutual Duties; but if there are any Tranſgreſſions committed, the Side that is moſt obliged ought doubtleſs to bear the moſt; and yet it is ſo far otherwiſe, that almoſt all over the Earth, the People, for One Injury they do their Governors, receive Ten Thouſand from them: Nay, in ſome Countries, it is made Death and Damnation, not to bear all the Oppreſſions and Cruelties, which Men made wanton by Power inflict upon thoſe that gave it them.

The Truth is, if the People are ſuffered to keep their own, it is the moſt they deſire: But even this is a Happineſs which in few Places falls to their Lot; they are frequently robbed by thoſe whom they pay to protect them. I know it is a general Charge againſt the People, that they are turbulent, reſtleſs, fickle, and unruly: Than which there can be nothing more untrue; for they are only ſo, where they

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are made ſo. As to their being fickle, it is ſo falſe, that on the contrary, they have almoſt ever a ſtrong Bent to received Cuſtoms, and as ſtrong a Partiality to Names and Families that they have been uſed to: And as to their being turbulent, it is as falſe; ſince there is ſcarce an Example in an Hundred Years, of any People's giving Governors any Uneaſineſs, till their Governors had made them uneaſy: Nay, for the moſt part, they bear many Evils without returning one, and ſeldom throw off their Burthens ſo long as they can ſtand under them.

But intending to handle this Subject more at large in another Letter, I return more directly to the Buſineſs of Libels.

As to Libels againſt Government, like all others, they are always baſe and unlawful, and often miſchievous; eſpecially when Governments are impudently charged with Actions and Deſigns of which they are not guilty. It is certain, that we ought not to enter into the private Vices or Weakneſſes of Governors, any further than their private Vices enter into their publick Adminiſtration; and when they do, it will be impoſſible to ſtop People's Mouths: They will be provoked, and ſhew that they are ſo, in ſpight of Art and Threats, if they ſuffer Hardſhips and Woe from the private Gratifications of their Superiors, from whom they have a Right to expect Eaſe and Happineſs; and if they are diſappointed, they will be apt to deal very freely with their Characters.

In Truth, moſt Libels are purely perſonal; they fly at Men rather than Things; which Proceeding is as injudicious as it is unmanly. It is mean to be quarrelling with Faces, Names, and private Pleaſures; Things perfectly indifferent to the World, or Things out of a Man's own Power; and 'tis ſilly, as it ſhews thoſe we attack, that we attack them not for what they do, but for what they are: And this is to provoke them without mending them. All this therefore is Libelling; an Offence againſt which the Laws of almoſt every Country, and particularly of our own, having furniſhed a Remedy in proportion to the Conſequence and Quality of the Perſon offended. And it is as juſt that Reputation ſhould be defended by Law, as that Property ſhould.

The Praiſe of Well-doing is the higheſt Reward that worthy and diſintereſted Men aim at, and it is villainous and ungrateful to rob them of it; and thoſe that do it, are Libellers and Slanderers. On the other Hand, while Cenſure and Infamy attend Evil Doers, it will be ſome Reſtraint, if not upon them, yet upon others, from following their Example: But if Men are ever ſuffered to do what they pleaſe without hearing of it, or being accountable for it, Liberty and Law will be loſt, tho' their Names may remain. And whether acting wickedly with Impunity, or ſpeaking falſely with Impunity, are likely to do moſt hurt to humane Society and the Peace of the World, I leave all the World to judge: Common Equity ſays they both ought to be puniſhed, tho' not both alike.

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All Libels, the higher they aim, the more Malignity they acquire; and therefore when they ſtrike at the Perſon of the Prince, the Meaſure of their Guilt is compleat. The Office of a Prince is to defend his People and their Properties; an excellent and a painful Office; which, where it is executed with Honeſty and Diligence, deſerves the higheſt Applauſe and Reward; and whoever vilifies and traduces him, is an Enemy to Society and to Mankind, and will be puniſhed with the Conſent of all who love either. And yet it is ſcarce poſſible in a free Country, to puniſh by a general Law any Libel ſo much as it deſerves; ſince ſuch a Law, conſiſting of ſo many Branches, and of ſuch vaſt Latitude, would make all Writing whatſoever, how innocent ſoever, and even all Speaking, unſafe. Hence it is that in *Turkey*, tho' Printing were permitted, it would be of no Uſe, becauſe no Body would dare to make any Uſe of it.

As long as there are ſuch Things as Printing and Writing, there will be Libels: It is an Evil ariſing out of a much greater Good. And as to thoſe who are for locking up the Preſs, becauſe it produces Monſters, they ought to conſider that ſo do the Sun and the *Nile*; and that it is ſomething better for the World to bear ſome particular Inconveniences ariſing from general Bleſſings, than to be wholly deprived of Fire and Water.

Of all Sorts of Libels, ſcurrilous ones are certainly the moſt harmleſs and contemptible: Even Truth ſuffers by Ill-Manners; and Ill-Manners prevent the Effect of Lies: The

Letter

Letter in the *Saturday's Poſt* of the 27th paſt does, I think, exceed all the Scurrilities I have either heard, or ſeen, from the Preſs or the Pulpit. The Author of it muſt ſurely be mad: He talks as if Diſtraction were in his Head, and a Firebrand in his Hand; and nothing can be more falſe, than the Inſinuations he makes, and the ugly Reſemblances he would draw. The Paper is a Heap of Falſhood and Treaſon, delivered in the Stile and Spirit of *Billingſgate*; and indeed moſt of the Enemies to his Majeſty's Perſon, Title and Government, have got the Faculty of Writing and Talking, as if they had their Education in that Quarter.

However, as bad as that Letter is, (and, I think, there cannot be a worſe) Occaſion, will never be taken from ſcurrilous and traiterous Writing, to deſtroy the End of Writing. We know that in all Times, there have been Men lying upon the Watch to ſtifle Liberty, under a Pretence of ſuppreſſing Libels; like the late King *James*, who having Occaſion for an Army to ſuppreſs *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, would needs keep it up afterwards; becauſe, forſooth, other Rebellions might happen, for which he was reſolved to give Cauſe.

I muſt own, I would rather many Libels ſhould eſcape, than the Liberty of the Preſs ſhould be infring'd; and yet no Man in *England* thinks worſe of Libels than I do: Eſpecially ſuch as bid open Defiance to the preſent Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment.

Corrupt Men, who have given Occaſion for Reproach, by their baſe and dark Practices with the late Directors, being afraid of Truths

that

that affect them from the Press, may be desirous of shutting it up: But honest Men, with clear Reputations, which they know foul Mouths cannot hurt, will always be for preserving it open, as a sure Sign of Liberty, and a Cause of it.

The best Way to escape the Virulence of Libels, is not to deserve them; but as Innocence it self is not secure against the Malignity of evil Tongues, it is also necessary to punish them. However, it does not follow that the Press is to be sunk, for the Errors of the Press. No body was ever yet so ridiculous to propose a Law for restraining People from travelling upon the Highway, because some who used the Highway committed Robberies.

It is commonly said, that no Nation in the World would suffer such Papers to come Abroad as *England* suffers; which is only saying, that no Nation in the World enjoys the *Liberty* which *England* enjoys. In Countries where there is no Liberty, there can be no ill Effects of it. No body is punish'd at *Constantinople* for Libelling: Nor is there any Distinction there between the Liberty of the Press, and the Licentiousness of the Press; a Distinction ever to be observed by honest Men and Freemen.

I am, &c.

SIR,

SIR,

CONsidering what Sort of a Creature Man is, it is ſcarce poſſible to put him under too many Reſtraints, when he is poſſeſs'd of great Power: He may poſſibly uſe it well; but they act moſt prudently, who, ſuppoſing that he would uſe it ill, do incloſe him within certain Bounds, and make it terrible to him to exceed them.

Men that are above all Fear, ſoon grow above all Shame. *Rupto pudore & metu, ſuo tantum ingenio utebatur*, ſays *Tacitus* of *Tiberius*. Even *Nero* had liv'd a great while inoffenſively, and reigned virtuouſly; but finding at laſt, that he might do what he would, he let looſe his Appetite for Blood, and committed ſuch mighty, ſuch monſtrous, ſuch unnatural Slaughters and Outrages, as none but a Heart bent on the Study of Cruelty could have deviſed. The good Counſels of *Seneca* and *Burrhus* were, for ſome Time, Checks upon his Wolfiſh Nature; and doubtleſs he apprehended, that if he made direct and downright War upon his People, they would uſe Reſiſtance and make Reprizals: But diſcovering, by degrees, that they would bear any thing, and his Soldiers would execute every thing, he grew into an open Defiance with Mankind, and daily and wantonly wallowed in their Blood: Having no other Rival, he ſeemed to rival himſelf, and every Day's Wickedneſs was blacker than another.

And

And yet *Nero* was not the worſt of all Men: There have been Thouſands as bad as he, and only wanted the ſame Opportunity to ſhew it. And there actually have been many Princes in the World, who have ſhed more Blood, and done more Miſchief to Mankind, than *Nero* did. I could inſtance in a late One, who deſtroyed more Lives than ever *Nero* deſtroyed, perhaps an Hundred to One. It makes no Difference that *Nero* committed Butcheries out of Cruelty, and the other only for his Glory; however the World may be deceived by the Change of Names into an Abhorrence of the One, and an Admiration of the other: It is all one to a Nation, when they are to be ſlaughtered, whether they be ſlaughtered by the Hangman, or by Dragoons, in Priſon or in the Field; nor is Ambition better than Cruelty, when it begets Miſchiefs as great.

It is nothing ſtrange, that Men, who think themſelves unaccountable, ſhould act unaccountably, and that all Men would be unaccountable if they could: Even thoſe who have done nothing to diſpleaſe, do not know but ſome Time or other they may; and no Man cares to be at the intire Mercy of another. Hence it is, that if every Man had his Will, all Men would exerciſe Dominion, and no Man would ſuffer it. It is therefore owing more to the Neceſſities of Men, than to their Inclinations, that they have put themſelves under the Reſtraint of Laws, and appointed certain Perſons, called Magiſtrates, to execute them; otherwiſe they would never be executed, ſcarce any Man having ſuch a Degree of Virtue as will-

willingly to execute the Laws upon himſelf; but on the contrary, moſt Men thinking them a Grievance, when they come to meddle with themſelves and their Property. *Suarum legum auctor & everſor*, was the Character of *Pompey*; he made Laws when they ſuited his Occaſions, and broke them when they thwarted his Will: And it is the Character of almoſt every Man poſſeſs'd of *Pompey*'s Power: They intend them for a Security to themſelves, and for a Terror to others. This ſhews the Diſtruſt that Men have of Men; and this made a great Philoſopher call the *State of Nature*, *a State of War*; which Definition is true in a reſtrained Senſe, ſince humane Societies and humane Laws are the Effect of Neceſſity and Experience: Whereas were all Men left to the boundleſs Liberty they claim from Nature, every Man would be interfering and quarrelling with another; every Man would be plundering the Acquiſitions of another; the Labour of one Man would be the Property of another; Weakneſs would be the Prey of Force; and one Man's Induſtry would be the Cauſe of another Man's Idleneſs.

Hence grew the Neceſſity of Government, which was the mutual Contract of a Number of Men, agreeing upon certain Terms of Union and Society, and putting themſelves under Penalties, if they violated theſe Terms, which were call'd Laws, and put into the Hands of one or more Men to execute. And thus Men quitted Part of their Natural Liberty to acquire Civil Security. But frequently the Remedy prov'd worſe than the Diſeaſe; and humane So-

ciety

ciety had often no Enemies ſo great as their own Magiſtrates; who, wherever they were truſted with too much Power, always abus'd it, and grew miſchievous to thoſe who made them what they were. *Rome*, while ſhe was free, (that is, while ſhe kept her Magiſtrates within due Bounds) could defend herſelf againſt all the World, and conquer it; but being enſlaved, (that is, her Magiſtrates having broke their Bounds,) ſhe could not defend herſelf againſt her own ſingle Tyrants; nor could they defend her againſt her foreign Foes and Invaders; for by their Madneſs and Cruelties they had deſtroy'd her Virtue and Spirit, and exhauſted her Strength. This ſhews that thoſe Magiſtrates, that are at abſolute Defiance with a Nation, either cannot ſubſiſt long, or will not ſuffer the Nation to ſubſiſt long; and that mighty Traytors, rather than fall themſelves, will pull down their Country.

What a dreadful Spirit muſt that Man poſſeſs, who can put a private Appetite in ballance againſt the Univerſal Good of his Country, and of Mankind! *Alexander* and *Cæſar* were that ſort of Men; they would ſet the World on fire and ſpill its Blood, rather than not govern it. *Caligula* knew that he was hated, and deſerved to be hated, but it did not mend him. *Oderint dum metuant*: All the Monſter aim'd at, was to be great and terrible. Moſt of theſe Tyrants died as became them, and as they had reign'd, by Violence; but that did not mend their Succeſſors, who generally earn'd the Fate of thoſe that went before them, before they were warm in their Place. *Invenit etiam Æmu-*

los infelix nequitia: Quid si floreat vigeatque? "If unfortunate Villainy thus finds Rivals; "what shall we say, when it exalts its Head "and prospers?"

There is no Evil under the Sun but what is to be dreaded from Men, who may do what they please with Impunity. They seldom or never stop at certain Degrees of Mischief, when they have Power to go further; but hurry on from Wickedness to Wickedness, as far and as fast as humane Malice can prompt humane Power. *Ubi semel recto deerratum est, in præceps pervenitur——a rectis in vitia, a vitiis in prava, a pravis in præcipitia*, says a *Roman* Historian; who in this speaks Truth, tho' in other Instances he tells many Lies; I mean that base Flatterer of Power, *Velleius Paterculus*. So that when we see any great Mischief committed with Safety, we may justly apprehend Mischiefs still greater.

The World is govern'd by Men, and Men by their Passions; which being boundless and insatiable, are always terrible when they are not controuled. Who was ever satiated with Riches, or surfeited with Power, or tired with Honours? There is a Tradition concerning *Alexander*, that having penetrated to the Eastern Ocean, and ravaged as much of this World as he knew, he wept that there was never another World for him to conquer. This, whether true or no, shews the Spirit of the Man, and indeed of humane Nature, whose Appetites are infinite.

People are ruined by their Ignorance of humane Nature; which Ignorance leads them to Credulity,

Credulity, and too great a Confidence in particular Men. They fondly imagine that he, who, poſſeſſing a great deal by their Favour, owes them great Gratitude, and all good Offices, will therefore return their Kindneſs: But, alas! how often are they miſtaken in their Favourites and Truſtees; who the more they have given them, are often the more incited to take All, and to return Deſtruction for generous Uſage. The common People generally think that great Men have great Minds, and ſcorn baſe Actions; which Judgment is ſo falſe, that the baſeſt and worſt of all Actions have been done by great Men: perhaps they have not picked private Pockets, but they have done worſe, they have often diſturbed, deceived and pillaged the World: And he who is capable of the higheſt Miſchief, is capable of the meaneſt. He who plunders a Country of a Million of Money, would in ſuitable Circumſtances ſteal a Silver Spoon; and a Conqueror, who ſteals and pillages a Kingdom, would, in an humbler Fortune, rifle a Portmanteau, or rob an Orchard.

Political Jealouſy, therefore, in the People, is a neceſſary and laudable Paſſion. But in a chief Magiſtrate, a Jealouſy of his People is not ſo juſtifiable, their Ambition being only to preſerve themſelves; whereas it is natural for Power to be ſtriving to enlarge itſelf, and to be encroaching upon thoſe that have none. The moſt laudable Jealouſy of a Magiſtrate is to be jealous *for* his People; which will ſhew that he loves them, and has uſed them well. But to be jealous *of* them, would denote that

he has evil Designs against them, and has used them ill. The People's Jealousy tends to preserve Liberty; and the Prince's to destroy it. *Venice* is a glorious Instance of the former, and so is *England*; and all Nations who have lost their Liberty, are melancholly Proofs of the later.

Power is naturally active, vigilant and distrustful; which Qualities in it push it upon all Means and Expedients to fortify it self, and upon destroying all Opposition, and even all Seeds of Opposition, and make it restless as long as any Thing stands in its Way. It would do what it pleases, and have no Check. Now, because Liberty chastises and shortens Power, therefore Power would extinguish Liberty; and consequently Liberty has too much Cause to be exceeding jealous, and always upon her Defence. Power has many Advantages over her; it has generally numerous Guards, many Creatures, and much Treasure; besides, it has more Craft and Experience, and less Honesty and Innocence: And whereas Power can, and for the most Part does subsist where Liberty is not, Liberty cannot subsist without Power; so that she has, as it were, the Enemy always at her Gates.

Some have said, that Magistrates, being accountable to none but God, ought to know no other Restraint. But this Reasoning is as frivolous as it is wicked; for no good Man cares how many Punishments and Penalties lie in his Way to an Offence which he does not intend to commit: A Man who does not mean to commit Murder, is not sorry that Murder is

punish'd

punish'd with Death. And as to wicked Men, their being accountable to God, whom they do not fear, is no Security to us against their Folly and Malice; and to say that we ought to have no Security against them, is to insult common Sense, and give the Lie to the first Law of Nature, that of Self-Preservation. Humane Reason says, that there is no Obedience, no Regard due to those Rulers, who govern by no Rule but their Lust: Such Men are no Rulers; they are Outlaws, who, being at Defiance with God and Man, are protected by no Law of God, or of Reason. By what Precept, moral or divine, are we forbid to kill a Wolf, or burn an infected Ship? Is it unlawful to prevent Wickedness and Misery, and to resist the Authors of them? Are Crimes sanctify'd by their Greatness? And is he who robs a Country, and murders Ten Thousand, less a Criminal, than he who steals single Guineas, and takes away single Lives? Is there any Sin in preventing, and restraining, or resisting the greatest Sin that can be committed; namely, that of oppressing and destroying Mankind by wholesale? Sure, there never were such open, such shameless, such selfish Impostors, as the Advocates for lawless Power. It is a damnable Sin to oppress them; and yet it is a damnable Sin to oppose them when they oppress, or gain by the Oppression of others. When they are hurt themselves ever so little, or but think themselves hurt, they are the loudest of all Men in their Complaints, and the most outrageous in their Behaviour: But when others are plundered, oppress'd and butcher'd, Complaints are Sedition; and to seek

Redreſs is Damnation. Is not this to be the Authors of all Wickedneſs and Falſhood?

To conclude: Power, without Controul, appertains to God alone; and no Man ought to be truſted with what no Man is equal to. In Truth, there are ſo many Paſſions, and Inconſiſtencies, and ſo much Selfiſhneſs, belonging to humane Nature, that we can ſcarce be too much upon our Guard againſt each other. The only Security we can have that Men will be Honeſt, is to make it their Intereſt to be Honeſt; and the beſt Defence we can have againſt their being Knaves, is to make it terrible to them to be Knaves. As there are many Men wicked in ſome Stations, who would be innocent in others; the beſt Way is to make Wickedneſs unſafe in any Station.

I am, &c.

P. S. This Letter is the Sequel of that upon Humane Nature; and Both are intended for an Introduction to a Paper I intend to write one Time or other, upon the Reſtraints which all wiſe Nations put upon their Magiſtrates.

SIR,

FLattery is a poyſonous and pernicious Weed, which grows and prevails every where, but moſt where it does moſt harm; I mean in Courts. If few dare ſpeak the Truth to their Superiors, how ſhall he who has no Superiors ever

ever come to know the Truth? Perhaps there never was an Inſtance in the World, where a Prince was told the ſincere Truth in every Thing which concerned him to know, by any Servant of his. Truth is of a plain unalterable Nature, and cannot be moulded into faſhionable Shapes; *Truth* is therefore unfit to be a Courtier: But *Falſhood*, being the Creature of the Imagination, is capable of bearing all modiſh and pleaſing Forms; Falſhood is therefore an agreeable Gueſt in Palaces. To illuſtrate this, endleſs Examples might be brought, but unfortunate Princes are the moſt pregnant Examples. *Galba*, when he had loſt all, and nothing remained to him but his Life, which he was alſo ſoon to looſe, had not one about him to tell him his Condition and Danger; ſo cruelly diſhoneſt were his Servants. Their Flattery prevented the Means of his Preſervation; they therefore were the firſt Murderers of their Maſter.

Nothing more is neceſſary in order to be flatter'd, than to be uppermoſt. *Galba* was hated for his Avarice, and deſpiſed for his Age and Severity; and yet in Complaiſance to an Emperor, Multitudes of People, and particularly of Senators and Gentlemen, addreſſed him to put *Otho* to death, and to baniſh all his Accompliſces: And a Rumour being ſpread, that *Otho* was ſlain; the ſame Sett of Flatterers run to the Palace with noiſy Congratulations, and deceitfully complained, that Fate had ſnatched the Uſurper from their Vengeance.

What Marks were here of Loyalty to *Galba*'s Perſon, and of Zeal and Firmneſs to his Intereſt; and yet in ſo ſmall a Space as two Hours after, *Otho*'s Power having prevailed in *Rome*, *Otho* had their Hearts and their Acclamations in his Turn, and *Galba*'s Death was demanded of him with the ſame Importunity, that the Death of *Otho* had been demanded of *Galba*, and by the ſame Men.

A melancholly Leſſon of the vile Fraudulency of Flatterers, and of the Blindneſs of Princes who truſt in them. Even *Galba*, who was thought Proof againſt Flatterers *(adverſus blandientes incorruptus)* was deceived by them.

The Sieur *Amelot de la Houſſaye*, from whom many of theſe Obſervations are taken, ſays truly, that moſt Princes are better armed againſt Fear than againſt Flattery: Terrors animate them, and Threats whet their Courage; but Flattery ſoftens their Minds and corrupts their Manners; it makes them negligent and idle, and forget their Duty. *Corrupta mens aſſiduis adulationibus*, ſays *Tacitus* of *Domitian*: Beſides, miſtaking Flattery for Complaiſance, (which is a Sign of Affection) they think that thoſe who flatter them love them, and from that Deluſion come to truſt and employ their moſt dangerous Enemies. He further ſays, That *Philip* the IId of *Spain* was wont to interrupt thoſe who went about to flatter him, by ſaying to them roundly, *Ceaſe trifling, and tell me what it concerns me to know*: Words worthy of all Princes, who are never entertained by their Flatterers but with Things uſeleſs or pernicious. If Princes never heard any Thing but what they

they ought to know, they would never hear Flatterers.

Flattery is a falſe and ſelfiſh Thing, begot only by Fear or Favour; and having itſelf only in view, it obſerves no Rule of Equity or Merit, but praiſes and calumniates, juſt according as Men are exalted or depreſſed. *Mezeray* tells us, that as long as *Henry* the IIId of *France* built magnificent Monaſteries, and plunged himſelf into Monkiſh Devotions, ill becoming his Dignity, the Monks revered him as a Saint, and called him one: But no ſooner was the religious and ſeditious League formed againſt him, but theſe godly Ingrates loaded him with all the Reproaches and ill Names they could deviſe; Tyrant, Hypocrite, Murtherer, and Abominable, were the Titles they gave him; and at laſt they butcher'd him as a Heretick: So eaſily can Flatterers make one and the ſame Man a God or Devil; and ſo true is it that Flatterers love no Man, and only court the Fortunes of Men. Flattery is venal, and always goes to the beſt Bidder; and it is ſervile, and always crouches moſt to thoſe who are uppermoſt, let them be what they will: *Adulationi fœdum Crimen Servitutis ineſt.* Moſt of the Evil that Princes commit, comes from the Leſſons and Complaiſance of Flatterers, and to ſuch moſt Princes have owed their Ruin: Few Princes would have done what many of them did, if their falſe Friends had not told them they might do what they would: We have had many Inſtances of this at Home, and there have been more Abroad. It would be a great Advantage to Princes, if they would re-

member that there never was a Prince in the World but was flattered, and never a Prince but was hurt by Flattery, and many utterly undone by it. It has made good Princes bad, and bad worse: By Flattery they have been brought to think themselves more than Men, and to act worse than Brutes; and in fine, to live and die as Beasts of Prey live and die, in Blood. Their Flatterers having made them worse than Men, adored them like Gods: But as *Pliny* says, *Principum exitus docuit ne a diis quidem amari nisi quos homines ament.*

Their Business is to tell their great Patron what pleases him, tho' it destroys him; and when they have deprived him of all his Friends, his Innocence, his Felicity, and his Possessions, they leave him too; or having ruined his Fortune, they take away his Life, which is their last and best Civility; for Flattery ends ever in Ingratitude, and often in Treason; and for Princes to be often distressed by those whom they have obliged most, is nothing new.

Flattery is always great, in proportion as its Patrons are bad. And therefore *Pliny* observes, that those Emperors who were most hated, were likewise most flattered; for he says, "That Dissimulation is more ingenious and "artful than Sincerity, and Slavery than Li-"berty, and Fear than Love." Hence Flattery is a Sign of Servitude, and inconsistent with Equality, and with Liberty, the Offspring of Equality. It is indeed one of the Purposes of Flattery to make Men worse; it gains by Corruption, and lives upon Credulity, Folly, and Vice. It is particularly at perpetual En-

mity

mity with Truth; and Flatterers are like Liars, not to be believed even when they speak Truth. I have somewhere heard Flatterers compared to Thieves, who break into Houses by Night; the first Thing they do, is to extinguish the Lights: So Flatterers, when they have beset a Prince, or any other Great Man, never fail to keep far from him all Light and Information.

Flattery is cruel, and gives bloody Counsels; and Flatterers are constant and merciless Calumniators: Every Word they do not like, is a Libel; every Action that displeases them, is Treason or Sedition: Where there are no Faults, they create them: The Crimes objected to the honest and excellent *Thrasea, Petus*, were such as these, namely, "That he had "never applauded *Nero*, nor encouraged others "to applaud him; that when the Senate were "running into all the Extravagancies of Flattery, he would not be present, and therefore had not been in it for Three Years; "that he had never sacrificed for *Nero*'s charming Voice; that he would never own Madam *Poppæa* for a Goddess, she who had "been *Nero*'s Mistress, and was then his Wife; "that he would not vote that a Gentleman "who had made Satyrical Verses upon *Nero* "should be put to Death, tho' he condemned "the Man and his Libel; but he contended, that no Law made the Offence "Capital; that they could not without Scandal, and the Imputation of Cruelty, punish "with Death, an Offence for which the Laws "had already provided a Punishment that was "milder."

"milder." These were the honourable and virtuous Crimes of that great and good Man; but they were then High Treason, and cost him his Life. Memorable are the Words of *Philip de Comines*, speaking of Court Flatterers: "If a Six-penny Tax is to be raised, they cry "it ought by all Means to be a Twelve-penny "one. If the Prince is offended with any "Man, they are directly for hanging him. In "other Instances, they maintain the same Cha-"racter. Above all Things they advise their "Master to make himself terrible; as they "themselves are proud, fierce, and over-bear-"ing, in hopes to be dreaded by that Means, "as if Authority and Place were their Inheri-"tance.

As all honest Truths affect such Men; whatever is said against ill Men, they construe to be said against them: And even when they are praised, they cry they are abused, and that such Praise is rank Irony. Now all this is very impolitick: Good Men neither fear Libels, nor suspect Applauses to be Ironies. *Pliny* says justly to *Trajan*, "When I speak of your Hu-"manity, Liberality, Frugality, Clemency, "Vigilance, &c. I have no Apprehension that "your Majesty will think your self reproached "with the contrary Vices." But it was not so in some preceding Reigns, when Virtue was dangerous, and Truth capital, and every Book that contained either was burnt, and its Author put to Death: By which violent and unjust Proceeding, they hoped to shut up for ever Peoples Mouths, to abolish the Liberty of the Senate, and utterly to extinguish the Memories

Memories of good Men. Not ſatisfied with killing the Authors, they exerciſed their Rage upon their Works, and appointed a Junto called *Triumviri*, to deſtroy the Fruits of the greateſt Genius's by Fire.

I have ſcarce ever heard of a more groſs or ingenious Piece of Flattery, than that of *Vitellius* to *Caligula*, upon the following Occaſion: That mad Emperor had taken it into his Head to be a God, and thought he might debauch ſome of the She-Deities, as well as he had his Siſters; he therefore asks *Vitellius* this Queſtion, *Pray*, Vitellius (ſays he) *have you never ſeen me embrace the Moon?* O, *Sir*, ſays the Paraſite, *that is a Myſtery which none but a God, ſuch as your Majeſty, ought to reveal. Vitellius* was one of thoſe, *quibus principum honeſta atque inhoneſta laudare mos eſt*; who praiſe every Thing their Prince does, whether good or bad. Flattery therefore is never at the Height, till Liberty and Virtue are utterly loſt; and with the Loſs of Liberty, Shame and Honour are loſt. *Tacitus*, who never mentions the Woes of his Country, without ſeeming to feel them, talking of *Sejanus*, who having got the whole Adminiſtration into his Hands, was now the chief Idol at *Rome*, makes *M. Terentius* ſay, with Indignation, "We worſhipped his manumiſs'd "Slaves, and proſtituted our ſelves to his for-"mer Footmen; and to be acquainted with "his Porter, was a mighty Honour.

As Flatterers make Tyrants, Tyrants make Flatterers; neither is it poſſible that any Prince could be a Tyrant without them: He muſt have ſervile Hands to execute his Will, and

ſervile

ſervile Mouths to approve it. It was with great Fear that *Nero* ordered the Murder of his Mother, tho' he had wicked Counſellors enough to adviſe and applaud it; and when he had done it, he was thunderſtruck and diſtracted with Apprehenſions of the Conſequences: But finding Flattery from all Hands, inſtead of Reſentment from any, he grew outrageouſly abandoned, and plunged into all Licentiouſneſs and Infamy: Had it not been for Flatterers, the Middle and End of his Reign might have been as good as the Beginning, than which there was ſcarce ever a better.

I have ſaid enough to ſhew the Vileneſs and Miſchief of Flattery; a Vice which has finally ruined many Nations, and many Princes, and one Time or other hurt all. Let us be thankful that we are not at the cruel Mercy of Flatterers, and have a Prince whom we firmly believe will never be led or perverted by them; we hope he will never have bad Counſel given him, and would reject it, if it were: We know his honeſt Purpoſes, and great Moderation, and confeſs with Gratitude, that during his whole Reign no Outrages have been committed upon the Lives and Fortunes of any of his Subjects; and that the Protection of the Law has been as ſtrong and extenſive as ever it was or ought to be. I could ſay more, but I ſtop here; for the greateſt Honour that can be done a Prince, is to ſuppoſe him above Flattery, and to avoid for his Sake the Appearance of it, when we ſpeak to him or of him.

I am, &c.

SIR,

THE *Love of one's Country*, or *Publick Spirit*, is a Phraſe in every Body's Mouth, but it ſeldom goes deeper; it is talked of without being felt: Some mention it without having any Ideas at all of it, but only as a fine Thing which every Body likes, and a good Quality which one would not ſeem to be without.

Others, when they name it, intend only ſome poor and ſelfiſh Gratification of their own: Thus with great Men it is Wealth and Empire, to do what they liſt, and to get what they can; which is direct Faction, or promoting, under Colour of the Publick, thoſe Views which are inconſiſtent with it. Thus with the Trader and Artificer, it is the encouraging only that Sort of Art or Ware in which he himſelf deals; and this is Monopoly and Engroſſing, ever miſchievous to the Publick.

In Popiſh Countries, it is Publick Spirit to build and beautify many Churches, at the Expence of the poor People; who muſt alſo maintain, at a further Expence, a long Band of luxurious Eccleſiaſticks, to play Tricks in them; or, in other Words, to keep the Heads and Pockets of their deluded Hearers as empty as they can. It is moreover great Publick Spirit to adorn an old Skull with Pearl and Diamonds, and to enrich a venerable rotten Tooth with Gold and Emeralds, of a Value ſufficient

to

to maintain a City and all its Inhabitants, who yet perhaps are ſtarved by doing it. It is likewiſe very publick-ſpirited there, for a Man to ſtarve his Family and his Poſterity, to endow a Monaſtry, and to feed or rather gorge a Fraternity of Reverend Gluttons, profeſſed Foes to Truth and Peace, and the Proſperity of the World; Idlers, maintained to gormondize and deceive. This, forſooth, is Publick Spirit; to rob the Country of its Hands, to rear up a pernicious and turbulent Mob of Drones, in Principles deſtructive of Liberty, and to bring up Enemies to a Country at its own Charges.

In Arbitrary Countries, it is Publick Spirit to be blind Slaves to the blind Will of the Prince, and to ſlaughter or be ſlaughtered for him at his Pleaſure: But in Proteſtant Free Countries, Publick Spirit is another Thing; it is to combat Force and Deluſion; it is to reconcile the true Intereſts of the Governed and Governors; it is to expoſe Impoſtors, and to reſiſt Oppreſſors; and it is to maintain the People in Liberty, Plenty, Eaſe, and Security.

This is Publick Spirit; which contains in it every laudable Paſſion, and takes in Parents, Kindred, Friends, Neighbours, and every Thing dear to Mankind; it is the higheſt Virtue, and contains in it almoſt all others; Stedfaſtneſs to good Purpoſes, Fidelity to one's Truſt, Reſolution in Difficulties, Defiance of Danger, Contempt of Death, and impartial Benevolence to all Mankind. It is a Paſſion to promote univerſal Good, with perſonal Pain, Loſs, and Peril: It is one Man's Care for Many,

Many, and the Concern of every Man for All.

Conſider this Picture, O ye great Patriots and Guardians of the Earth, and try if you reſemble it! Whom have ye exalted for his own Merits, and whom caſt down for the Sake of your Country? What Advantages have you acquired to your Nation, with Loſs to your ſelves; and have your People's Loſſes never been your Gains?

Out of *England*, theſe Queſtions cannot well be anſwered; nor could they in *England* formerly.

If my Character of Publick Spirit be thought too Heroick, at leaſt for the living Generation, who are indeed but Babes in that Virtue; I will readily own, that every Man has a Right and a Call to provide for himſelf, to attend upon his own Affairs, and to ſtudy his own Happineſs. All I contend for is, that this Duty of a Man to himſelf be performed ſubſequently to the general Welfare, and conſiſtently with it. The Affairs of All ſhould be minded preferably to the Affairs of One, as every Man is ready to own when his own Particular is embark'd with the Whole; as indeed every Man's will prove to be ſooner or later, tho' for a while ſome may thrive upon the publick Ruins, but their Fate ſeldom fails to meet with them at laſt, them or their Poſterity.

It is a favourable Sign of Publick Spirit, tho' not a certain Sign, when the Intereſt and Reputation of Men riſe and encreaſe together; and there is Policy and Wiſdom in it. He who acquires Money in ſpight of Fame, pays dear

dear for his Avatice, while it returns him Hatred and Curses, as well as Gold; and to be rich and detested, is to me no pleasing Character. The same holds true in Regard to Ambition, and every other Passion, which breaks its Bounds, and makes a Captive of its Owner. It's scarce possible to be a Rogue and be beloved; and when Men are arrived to an Insensibility of popular Censure and Opinion concerning their Honesty and Dishonesty, it is a Sign that they are at a Defiance with the Community where they live, and that the rest ought to be upon their Guard against them; they do as it were cut themselves off from the Society, and teach the People what to call them.

It is true that great ill Men never fail to have great Court paid to their Fortunes; which Court, their own Self Love always construes to be paid to their Persons: But there is a Way to undeceive them, and it often happens; let them but sink into Meanness, and they will soon find themselves sunk into Contempt, which is the End of Hatred when the Object of Hatred diminishes.

There is a Sort of Men found almost every where, who having got a Set of gainful and favourite Speculations, are always ready to spread and enforce them, and call their doing so *Publick Spirit*, tho it often turns the World topsy-turvy: Like the mad Monk at *Heidelberg*, who was for knocking every Man on the Head who did not like *Rhenish* Wine, which it seems was his beloved Liquor; and perhaps he thought it was as reasonable to make all the

World

World ſwallow *Rheniſh*, as to make them ſwallow Tranſubſtantiation.

Opinions, bare Opinions, ſignify no more to the World, than do the ſeveral Taſtes of Men; and all Mankind muſt be made of one Complexion, of one Size, and of one Age, before they can be all made of the ſame Mind. Thoſe Patrons therefore of dry Dreams, who do Miſchief to the World to make it better, are the Pests and Diſtreſſers of Mankind, and ſhut themſelves out from all Pretence to the Love of their Country: Strange Men! They would force All Men into an abſolute Certainty about abſolute Uncertainties and Contradictions; they would aſcertain Ambiguities, without removing them; and plague and puniſh Men for having but five Senſes.

I would aſſert another Propoſition, as true as this laſt, tho' it may ſeem ſtranger; namely, That the taking a Thouſand or Ten Thouſand Pounds a Year, for the Merit of helping to draw a Hundred Times as much from the People, is not Publick Spirit, whatever Uſe may call it; and to graſp at All, and put a whole Country in two or three Pockets, is a Sort of Publick Spirit, which I hope in God never to ſee, tho' there have been Nations who have ſorrowfully felt it.

As Liberty can never ſubſiſt without Equality, nor Equality be long preſerved without an *Agrarian* Law, or ſomething like it; ſo when Men's Riches are become immeaſureably or ſurprizingly great, a People who regard their own Security, ought to make a ſtrict Enquiry how they came by them, and oblige them

them to take down their own Size, for fear of terrifying the Community, or maſtering it. In every Country, and under every Government, particular Men may be too rich.

If the *Romans* had well obſerved the *Agrarian* Law, by which the Extent of every Citizen's Eſtate was aſcertained, ſome Citizens could never have riſen ſo high as they did above others, and conſequently one Man would never have been ſet above all the reſt, and have eſtabliſhed, as *Cæſar* did at laſt, a Tyranny in that great and glorious State. I have always thought that an Enquiry into Men's Fortunes, eſpecially monſtrous Fortunes rais'd out of the Publick, like *Milton*'s Infernal Palace, as it were in an Inſtant, was of more Importance to a Nation, than ſome other Enquiries which I have heard of.

But, will ſome ſay, is it a Crime to be rich? Yes, certainly, at the publick Expence, or to the Danger of the Publick. A Man may be too rich for a Subject; even the Revenues of Kings may be too large. It is one of the Effects of Arbitrary Power, that the Prince has too much, and the People too little; and ſuch Inequality may be the Cauſe too of Arbitrary Power. It is as aſtoniſhing as it is melancholly, to travel through a whole Country, as one may through many in *Europe*, gaſping under endleſs Impoſts, and groaning under Dragoons and Poverty, and all to make a wanton and luxurious Court, filled for the moſt, with the worſt and vileſt of all Men. Good God! What Hard-heartedneſs and Barbarity, to ſtarve perhaps half a Province, to make a gay Garden!

And

And yet ſometimes even this groſs Wickedneſs is called Publick Spirit, becauſe forſooth a few Workmen and Labourers are maintained out of the Bread and the Blood of half a Million.

In thoſe Countries, was the Judgment of the People conſulted, Things would go better: But they are deſpiſed, and eſteemed by their Governors happy enough, if they do not eat Graſs; and having no Repreſentatives, or Share in the Government, they have no Remedy. Such indeed is their Miſery, that their Caſe would be greatly mended, if they could change Conditions with the Beaſts of the Field; for then being deſtin'd to be eaten, they would be better fed: Such a Misfortune is it to them that their Governors are not *Cannibals!* Oh happy *Britain!* may'ſt thou continue ever ſo!

For a Concluſion: As the Preſervation of Property is the Source of National Happineſs, whoever violates Property, or leſſens or endangers it, common Senſe ſays, that he is an Enemy to his Country, and publick Spirit ſays, he ſhould feel its Vengeance. As yet in *England*, we can ſpeak ſuch bold Truths; and we never dread to ſee the Day, when it will be ſafer for one Man to be a Traytor, than for another Man, or for a whole People, to call him ſo. Wherever Publick Spirit is found dangerous, ſhe will ſoon be ſeen dead.

I am, &c.

SIR,

SIR,

LOyalty is a very good Word; but, like moſt others, being wreſted firſt by Deſign, and afterwards by Ignorance and Cuſtom, from its original and virtuous Signification, does now frequently bear a very bad one. In an honeſt Senſe, and indeed in common Senſe, it means no more than the ſquaring our Actions by the Rules of good Laws, and an Attachment to a Conſtitution ſupported by ſuch: And the *French* Word *Loyauté*, comes from another *French* Word, which ſignifies *Law*.

Other Meanings have been ſince father'd upon that Word, ſuch as it abhors. To bear ſtupidly the wild or deliberate ill Acts of a Tyrant, overturning all Law, and to aſſiſt him in it, has been impiouſly called *Loyalty*; tho' it was all the while on the other Side: As it is the very Office and Genius of Loyalty to defend Law, Virtue, and Property, and to pull down as Traytors and Diſloyaliſts, all who aſſault them.

Whoever is lawleſs, is diſloyal; and to boaſt of Loyalty to Diſloyalty, is ſtrange Nonſenſe; a Paradox firſt invented by ſolemn and pernicious Pedants, whoſe Trade it is to pervert the Uſe of Words, and the Meaning of Things, to abuſe and confound the humane Underſtanding, and to miſlead the World into Miſery and Darkneſs.

To

To obey a Prince, who does himself obey the Laws, is confeſſed on all Hands to be Loyalty: Now, from hence, one would naturally think, that by every Rule of Reaſon, it might be inferr'd, that to obey one who obeys no Law, is a Departure from all Loyalty, and an Outrage committed upon it; and that both he who commands, and he who obeys, are Outlaws and Diſloyaliſts: And yet theſe ſame ungodly Pedants ſhall maintain it to your Face, that tho' Loyalty conſiſts in obeying a good Prince, yet it alſo conſiſts in the very contrary, and in obeying a wicked Prince; who, tho' he is an Enemy to God, yet he is the Vicegerent of God; and tho' he commits all Wickedneſs, yet he does it by divine Right; and tho' it is a Sin to obey him, yet it is a damnable Sin to reſiſt him; and in ſhort, that all the Inſtruments and Partners of his crying Crimes, are Loyaliſts, and all who defend Law, Virtue, and Mankind againſt ſuch Monſters, are Rebels, and aſſuredly damned for preventing or reſiſting Actions which deſerve Damnation: And thus Men become Rebels, by acting virtuouſly againſt the worſt of all Rebels, who are reſtrained by no Conſideration, humane or divine.

Was ever ſuch Impudence, Impiety, and Nonſenſe broached amongſt Pagans? In Truth, they never would have been broach'd amongſt Chriſtians, had not Sanctity been made a Cloak for thoſe who ſold Godlineſs for Gain, and propagated Impoſture at the Price of all that was virtuous and ſacred.

Diſ-

Diſloyalty is indeed rarely the Crime of Subjects and private Men; and they who charge it moſt upon others, are they who practiſe it moſt themſelves. King *Richard* the Second, and *Edward* the Second, were the greateſt Rebels in *England* in their own Time: And the greateſt Rebel in all *Italy*, is the Pope. Every lawleſs Prince is a Rebel, and the Grand Seignior is the greateſt that is or can be in his own Dominions. It is true, he is bound by no written Law; but in this very Thing he is a Rebel: No Man ought to be exempt from the Ties of Laws; and the higher any Man is, the more Ties he ought to be under. All Power ought to be ballanced with equal Reſtraints, elſe 'twill certainly grow miſchievous: He who knows no Law, but his own Luſt, ſeldom obſerves any other. Beſides, there are ſuch Things as the eternal Laws of Mercy, Juſtice and Truth, legible by every Man's natural Reaſon, when it is not blinded by Craft; and whoever obſerves not theſe, let him be called by what Name he will, is a Rebel to all the World, and it is Loyalty to all the World to purſue him to Deſtruction.

Brutus, who expell'd the royal and rebellious Race of the *Tarquins*, was the moſt loyal Man in *Rome*; and his Sons, who would have reſtored them, were the greateſt Rebels in *Rome*: The *Roman* People therefore acted juſtly, when they rewarded the Father with the chief Magiſtracy; and the Father acted juſtly, when he ſacrificed the Traytors of his own Loins to the Liberties and Reſentments of the *Roman* People.

Some

Some play with the Words *Sovereign* and *Subject*, and divert themſelves with the Ridicule of Obedience reſiſting Command: But their Wit and Reaſoning are alike wretched, whether they proceed from Ignorance or Diſhoneſty, as they often do from both; as if the World were to be guided by Sound rather than Senſe in Things eſſential to its Well-being. The higheſt and firſt Sovereignty is in the Laws, of which the Prince has only the Sovereign Execution: In other Words, it is his Office and Duty to ſee the Laws obeyed; an Employment, which implies their Superiority and his own Subjection.

A learned Prince, who knew not much of Government, and practiſed leſs than he knew, did yet own, that a *King is only the chief Servant of the State.* The Law ought to be the Meaſure of his Power and Actions, as much as of any private Man's, and more; as his Example is of greater Influence, and as his Opportunities and Temptations to break them are greater than any private Man's can be: And the only juſt Reaſon that can be aſſigned why thoſe Crimes which are puniſhed with Death in a Subject, have been often committed with Impunity by a chief Magiſtrate, was, becauſe the Station he was in gave him ſuch Strength, and ſuch a Party, that to have puniſhed him, the Publick Quiet muſt have been riſqu'd or ſhaken: And as to the inferior great Traitors, the Gain of their Crimes and Partners of their Guilt protected them.

Exalted Wickedneſs is the ſafeſt: I could name an *Engliſh* Reign, in which, for above

Twenty Years together, there ſcarce paſs'd a Week in which the Prince did not venture his Crown, and his Miniſters forfeit their Heads. And yet not one of theſe Forfeitures were exacted: So corrupt and wicked was the Government, and ſo tame and acquieſcing were the People. Indeed the People do in every Country deſerve the beſt Uſage, and in almoſt all meet with the worſt: Their Lot is very hard and unequal: They often pay Millions, not only in their own Wrong, but frequently to ſtrengthen the Hands of their Oppreſſors: And this they generally do, without ſo much as a Tumult; and yet for one of them to Coin a Silver Six pence, is Death and Confiſcation.

Theſe Things are obvious; and yet how little are they conſider'd! It is ſafer for a great Man to rob a Country, than for a poor one to ſteal a Loaf: But the Wages of Villainy protect Villains, and Juſtice is only blind where the Object is naked—— But theſe are only Complaints, which we hope we *Britons* will never have Cauſe to make.

We have been formerly ſtunn'd with the big Word *Prerogative*, by thoſe who contend for Unlimited Loyalty: Men, who while they reſerve to themſelves a Right to be the moſt turbulent of all Subjects, would make all others the tameſt, and the blindeſt of all Slaves. But what Prerogative do they mean? I know no Prerogative in the Crown, which is not at the ſame Time a certain Privilege of the People, for their Sake granted, and for their Sake to be exerted: And where a Prerogative is claimed in

Oppoſition

Oppoſition to the Rights and Intereſts of the People, ſo far a Tyranny is claimed; Tyranny being nothing elſe but the Government of one Man, or of a few Men, over many, againſt their Inclination and Intereſt: And where Prerogative is exerciſed more to the Hurt than the Good of the Governed, it is no longer Prerogative, but Violence and Uſurpation; and therefore, in *England* ſeveral Prerogatives have from Time to Time been taken from the Crown, becauſe the Crown had abuſed them.

A certain *Britiſh* King was wont to ſay, *That ſo long as he could make Biſhops and Judges, he would have what Law and Goſpel he pleaſed* — An impious and arbitrary Saying, and a bold one coming from a Prince of ſo mean a Spirit, governing a brave and a free People, who were diſgraced by his profuſe and ridiculous Reign, which is one of thoſe that ſtain our Annals. But for all the Abſurdity of his Government, and the Smallneſs of his Soul, he found himſelf able, by the Aſſiſtance of Sycophants, to multiply and entail many Evils upon theſe Kingdoms. It is certain, that he and ſome of his Poſterity found ſuch complaiſant Biſhops and Judges, that the Religion and Politicks of the Court were generally the Religion and Politicks of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and of *Henry* the VIIth's Chappel: Abſolute Power in the Crown was pleaded and granted in both thoſe ſolemn Places.

So wicked and mercileſs a Thing is Self-Intereſt! Thoſe grave Men, who were by Profeſſion the Guardians of Truth and Law,

gave up both, to keep Preferment, or to acquire it. How little are Men to be truſted, and how little does Religion bind them! They can break the ſtrongeſt Bands, violate the moſt awful Oaths, and commit the moſt horrid, moſt extenſive Treacheries, for the vileſt and moſt uncertain Gratifications. I am therefore ſeldom ſurpriz'd to hear of the moſt aſtoniſhing Things and Events, whether they be publick Depredations and Maſſacres, or private Treacheries and Parricides; having my Mind conſtantly fill'd with Examples that anſwer them, or exceed them, tho' perhaps they are not exactly of the ſame Nature.

It is certain, that thoſe Judges, Councellors, and Clergy, who have adjudged a diſpenſing and lawleſs Power to Kings, had, each of them, the Guilt of a Thouſand private Murderers upon his Head: They, as it were, ſign'd a dead Warrant for their Country; and as much as in them lay, made themſelves the Authors of Univerſal Barbarity, Slavery, Infamy, and Wretchedneſs, and of every other Evil and Wickedneſs which is produced by that great Source of all Evil and Wickedneſs, Arbitrary Power.

Of this we are ſure, that the leaſt Publick Guilt is greater than the greateſt Private Guilt: Let every Man concern'd in Publick Truſt, every where, conſider this, and examine his own Heart: Every Step a publick Man takes, every Speech he makes, and every Vote he gives, may affect Millions. Whoever acts in a great Station againſt his Conſcience, might perhaps with more Innocence carry a Dagger, and like *Old Muly* ſtab Twenty Men a Day. Now

Now were these Judges and Councellors, above-mentioned, Loyalists? Yes, doubtless, if there are such Things as Loyal Traytors. For, even supposing Loyalty center'd wholly in the Person of the Prince, than which nothing can be more false; yet even here it loses its Name, since it is doing him the highest Unkindness, as it separates him from his People, and their Hearts from him, and as it tempts him to Evil, loads him with Infamy and Guilt, and lessens his Security; in truth, such Loyalty is Perfidiousness and Flattery, and has cost many Princes their Lives and their Kingdoms.

No good Prince will pretend that there is any Loyalty due to him further than he himself is loyal to the Law, and observant of his People, the Makers of Kings and of Laws. If any Man, misled by Sound and Delusion, doubts this, let him consider what is the Design of Magistracy, and what the Duty of Magistrates; and if he has Reason in him, he will find that his Duty is only due to those who perform theirs; that Protection and Allegiance are reciprocal; that every Man has a Right to defend what no Man has a Right to take: That the Divine Right of Kings, if they had it, can only warrant them in doing Actions that are Divine, and cannot protect them in Cruelty, Depredation and Oppression: That a Divine Right to act wickedly, is a Contradiction and Blasphemy, as it is *Maledictio Supremi Numinis*, a Reproach upon the Deity, as if he gave any Man a Commission to be a Devil: That a King, in comparison with the Universe, is not so much as a Mayor of a Town, in comparison

with a Kingdom; and that, was Mr. Mayor called *King*, it would give him no new Right; or, if a King was only called Mr. Mayor, it would not leſſen nor abrogate his old Juriſdiction: That they are both Civil Officers, and that an Offence in the Leſſer is more pardonable than an Offence in the Greater: That the Doctrines of unbroken hereditary Right, and of blind Obedience, are the Flights and Forgeries of Flatterers, who bely Heaven, and abuſe Men, to make their own Court to Power, and that not one of them will ſtand the Tryal himſelf; and in fine, that Government, honeſt and legal Government, is *Imperium Legum non Hominum*, the Authority of Law, and not of Luſt.

Theſe are the Principles upon which our Government ſtands, and the Principles upon which every free Government muſt ſtand; and that we *Britons* dare tell ſuch Truths, and publiſh ſuch Principles, is a glorious Proof of our Civil and Religious Freedom: They are Truths, which every *Briton* ought to know, even Children and Servants: They are eternal Truths, that will remain for ever, tho' in too many Countries they are dangerous or uſeleſs, or little known: They are Truths, to which we are beholden for the preſent Succeſſion, and the preſent mild Adminiſtration; and they are the Principles of *Engliſh* Loyalty, as well as of *Engliſh* Liberty.

Before I have done, I would take Notice of another Miſtake very common, concerning Loyalty: It is indeed a Trick more than a Miſtake; I mean of thoſe who would aſſert, or rather create a Sort of Loyalty to Miniſters,

and

and make every Thing which they do not like, an Offence againſt their Maſter.

How endleſs are the Arts and Inſtances of Deceiving! And yet the ſtaleſt Artifices are ſtill new. The Above is a Method, which bad Miniſters have ever taken, but which good ones want not: Innocent Miniſters will never proſtitute the Name and Authority of the Prince, to protect their own Faults and Miſtakes; and every wiſe and indifferent Man will be for preſerving him from the Imputation of the Guilt and Folly of his Servants, who, whenever they are for thruſting in their Maſter between themſelves and the Cenſure or Odium of their own Actions, do at once acknowledge that their own Actions are evil, and that they would barbarouſly and ungratefully make a Screen of their Sovereign, and ſave themſelves upon his Ruin or Diſgrace.

What can be more vile, what more diſloyal than this! And yet who were louder in their Prate about Loyalty, than the worſt Miniſters have ever been; even while they were weakening their Maſter's Hands, creating him Enemies, and ſetting him at Variance with his People? This is ſo true, that it has been ſometimes impoſſible to love the Prince without abhorring his Servants, and to ſerve them without hurting or abuſing him. And yet while they were very loyally undoing him, it was forſooth high Diſloyalty to reſiſt or expoſe them.—Whoever would recollect Inſtances of this, need not go out of *Europe*, nor above Forty Years backwards: And for Inſtances at Home, as we can find no preſent ones, we fear none that are future.

SIR,

THE following are the Sentiments of Mr. *Sydney*: I know 'tis objected, that he is a Republican; and 'tis diſhoneſtly ſuggeſted that I am a Republican, becauſe I commend him as an excellent Writer, and have taken a Paſſage or two out of him. In anſwer to this, I ſhall only take Notice, that the Paſſages I take from him are not Republican Paſſages, unleſs Virtue and Truth are Republican: That Mr. *Sydney*'s Book, for the Main of it, is eternally true, and agreeable to our own Conſtitution, which is the beſt Republick in the World, with a Prince at the Head of it: That our Government is a Thouſand Degrees nearer a-kin to a Commonwealth, (any Sort of Commonwealth now ſubſiſting, or that ever did ſubſiſt in the World) than it is to Abſolute Monarchy: That for my ſelf, I hope in God, never to ſee any other Form of Government in *England*, than that which is now in *England*; and that if this be the Stile and Spirit of a Republican, I glory in it, as much as I deſpiſe thoſe who take baſe Methods to decry my Writings, which are addreſſed to the common Senſe and Experience of Mankind. I hope it is not yet made Hereſy in Politicks, to aſſert that Two and Two make Four.

" The good Magiſtrate ſeeks the Good of " the People committed to his Care; that he

" may

" may perform the End of his Inſtitution;
" and knowing That chiefly to conſiſt in
" Juſtice and Virtue, he endeavours to plant
" and propagate them; and by doing this, he
" procures his own Good, as well as that of
" the Publick. He knows there is no Safety
" where there is no Strength, no Strength
" without Union, no Union without Juſtice,
" no Juſtice where Faith and Truth in ac-
" compliſhing publick and private Engage-
" ments, is wanting. This he perpetually in-
" culcates; and thinks it a great Part of his
" Duty, by Precept and Example, to educate
" the Youth in a Love of Virtue and Truth,
" that they may be ſeaſoned with them, and
" filled with an Abhorrence of Vice and
" Falſhood, before they attain that Age which
" is expoſed to the moſt violent Temptations,
" and in which they may by their Crimes
" bring the greateſt Miſchiefs upon the Pub-
" lick. He would do all this, tho' it were to
" his own Prejudice. But as good Actions
" always carry a Reward with them, theſe
" contribute in a high Meaſure to his Advan-
" tage. By preferring the Intereſt of the Peo-
" ple before his own, he gains their Affection,
" and all that is in their Power comes with it;
" while he unites them to one another, he
" unites all to himſelf: In leading them to
" Virtue, he encreaſes their Strength, and by
" that Means provides for his own Safety,
" Glory, and Power.

" On the other Side, ſuch as ſeek different
" Ends muſt take different Ways. When a
" Magiſtrate fancies he is not made for the

" People, but the People for him; that he " does not govern for them, but for himself; " that the People live only to encreaſe his " Glory, or to furniſh Matter for his Pleaſure; " he does not enquire what he may do for " them, but what he may draw from them: " By this Means he ſets up an Intereſt of Pro- " fit, Pleaſure, or Pomp in himſelf, repugnant " to the Good of the Publick, for which he " is made to be what he is. Theſe contrary " Ends certainly divide the Nation into Par- " ties; and while every one endeavours to ad- " vance that to which he is addicted, Occa- " ſions of Hatred, for Injuries every Day " done, or thought to be done, and received, " muſt neceſſarily ariſe. This creates a moſt " fierce and irreconcileable Enmity, becauſe " the Occaſions are frequent, important, and " univerſal, and the Cauſes thought to be " moſt juſt. The People think it to be the " greateſt of all Crimes to convert that Power " to their Hurt, which was inſtituted for their " Good; and that the Injuſtice is aggravated " by Perjury and Ingratitude, which compre- " hend all manner of Ill; and the Magiſtrate " gives the Name of Sedition and Rebellion " to whatſoever they do for the Preſervation " of themſelves and their own Rights. When " Men's Spirits are thus prepared, a ſmall " Matter ſets them on Fire; but if no Acci- " dent happens to blow them into a Flame, the " Courſe of Juſtice is certainly interrupted, the " publick Affairs are neglected; and when any " Occaſion, whether Foreign or Domeſtick, " ariſes, in which the Magiſtrate ſtands in need

" of

" of the People's Aſſiſtance, they whoſe Af-
" fections are alienated, not only ſhew an Un-
" willingneſs to ſerve him with their Perſons
" and Eſtates, but fear that by delivering him
" from his Diſtreſs they ſtrengthen their Ene-
" my, and enable him to oppreſs them: And
" he, fancying his Will to be unjuſtly oppos'd,
" or his Due more unjuſtly denied, is filled
" with a Diſlike of what he ſees, and a Fear
" of worſe for the future. Whilſt he endea-
" vours to eaſe himſelf of the one, and to
" provide againſt the other, he uſually encreaſes
" the Evils of both; and Jealouſies are on
" both Sides multiplied. Every Man knows
" that the Governed are in a great Meaſure
" under the Power of the Governor; but as
" no Man or Number of Men is willingly
" ſubject to thoſe that ſeek their Ruin, ſuch
" as fall into ſo great a Misfortune, continue
" no longer under it, than Force, Fear, or
" Neceſſity may be able to oblige them. But
" ſuch a Neceſſity can hardly lie longer upon
" a great People, than till the Evil be fully
" diſcovered and comprehended, and their Vir-
" tue, Strength, and Power be united to expel
" it: The ill Magiſtrate looks upon all Things
" that may conduce to that End, as ſo many
" Preparatives to his Ruin; and by the Help
" of thoſe who are of his Party, will endea-
" vour to prevent that Union, and diminiſh
" that Strength, Virtue, Power, and Courage,
" which he knows to be bent againſt him.
" And as Truth, faithful Dealing, and Inte-
" grity of Manners, are Bonds of Union, and
" Helps to Good, he will always, by Tricks,

" Arti-

" Artifices, Cavils, and all Means poſſible, " endeavour to eſtabliſh Falſhood and Diſho- " neſty; whilſt other Emiſſaries and Inſtru- " ments of Iniquity, by corrupting the Youth, " and ſuch as can be brought to Lewdneſs and " Debauchery, bring the People to ſuch a paſs, " that they may neither care nor dare to vin- " dicate their Rights; and that thoſe who " would do it may ſo far ſuſpect each other, " as not to confer upon, much leſs to join in, " any Action tending to the publick Deli- " verance.

" This diſtinguiſhes the good from the bad " Magiſtrate, the Faithful from the Unfaith- " ful; and thoſe that adhere to either, living " in the ſame Principle, muſt walk in the " ſame Ways. They who uphold the rightful " Power of a juſt Magiſtracy, encourage Vir- " tue and Juſtice, and teach Men what they " ought to do, ſuffer, or expect from others; " they fix them upon Principles of Honeſty, " and generally advance every thing that tends " to the Encreaſe of the Valour, Strength, " Greatneſs, and Happineſs of the Nation, " creating a good Union among them, and " bringing every Man to an exact underſtand- " ing of his own, and the publick Rights. On " the other ſide, he that would introduce an " ill Magiſtrate, makes one evil who was good, " or preſerves him in the Adminiſtration of " Injuſtice when he is corrupted, muſt always " open the Way for him by vitiating the Peo- " ple, corrupting their Manners, deſtroying " the Validity of Oaths, teaching ſuch Eva- " ſions, Equivocations, and Frauds, as are in- " conſiſtent

" conſiſtent with the Thoughts that become
" Men of Virtue and Courage; and over-
" throwing the Confidence they ought to have
" in each other, make it impoſſible for them
" to unite amongſt themſelves. The like Arts
" muſt be uſed with the Magiſtrate: He can-
" not be for their Turns, till he is perſwaded
" to believe he has no Dependence upon, and
" owes no Duty to the People; that he is of
" himſelf, and not by their Inſtitution; that
" no Man ought to enquire into, nor be Judge
" of his Actions; that all Obedience is due to
" him, whether he be good or bad, wiſe or
" fooliſh, a Father or an Enemy to his Coun-
" try. This being calculated for his perſonal
" Intereſt, he muſt purſue the ſame Deſigns,
" or his Kingdom is divided within itſelf, and
" cannot ſubſiſt. By this Means, thoſe who
" flatter his Humour, come to be accounted
" his Friends, and the only Men that are
" thought worthy of great Truſts, whilſt ſuch
" as are of another Mind are expoſed to all
" Perſecution. Theſe are always ſuch as excel
" in Virtue, Wiſdom, and Greatneſs of Spirit:
" They have Eyes, and they will always ſee
" the Way they go; and leaving Fools to be
" guided by implicit Faith, will diſtinguiſh
" between Good and Evil, and chuſe that
" which is beſt; they will judge of Men by
" their Actions, and by them diſcovering whoſe
" Servant every Man is, know whether he is
" to be obeyed or not. Thoſe who are igno-
" rant of all Good, careleſs, or Enemies to it,
" take a more compendious Way: Their ſla-
" viſh, vicious and baſe Natures inclining them

" to

" to seek only private and present Advantage, " they easily slide into a blind Dependence up- " on one who has Wealth and Power; and " desiring only to know his Will, care not " what Injustice they do, if they may be re- " warded. They worship what they find in " the Temple, tho' it be the vilest of Idols; " and always like that best which is worst, " because it agrees with their Inclinations and " Principles. When a Party comes to be erect- " ed upon such a Foundation, Debauchery, " Lewdness, and Dishonesty are the true " Badges of it; such as wear them are che- " rished; but the principal Marks of Favour " are reserved for them who are the most in- " dustrious in Mischief, either by seducing " the People with the Allurements of sensual " Pleasures, or corrupting their Understand- " ings with false and slavish Doctrines.

I am, &c.

SIR,

THE World has, from Time to Time, been led into such a long Maze of Mistakes, by those who gained by deceiving, that whoever would instruct Mankind, must begin with removing their Errors; and if they were every where honestly apprized of Truth, and restored to their Senses, there would not remain one Nation of Bigots or Slaves under the Sun:

Sun: A Happineſs always to be wiſhed, but never expected.

In moſt Parts of the Earth, there is neither Light nor Liberty; and even in the beſt Parts of it, they are but little encouraged and coldly maintained, there being, in all Places, many engaged through Intereſt in a perpetual Conſpiracy againſt them. They are the two greateſt Civil Bleſſings, inſeparable in their Intereſts, and the mutual Support of each other; and whoever would deſtroy one of them, muſt deſtroy both: Hence it is, that we every where find Tyranny and Impoſture, Ignorance and Slavery joined together, and Oppreſſors and Deceivers mutually aiding and paying conſtant Court to each other. Wherever Truth is dangerous, Liberty is precarious.

Of all the Sciences that I know in the World, that of Government concerns us moſt, and is the eaſieſt to be known, and yet is the leaſt underſtood. Moſt of thoſe who manage it, would make the lower World believe that there is I know not what Difficulty and Myſtery in it, far above vulgar Underſtandings; which Proceedings of theirs is direct Craft and Impoſture: Every Ploughman knows a good Government from a bad, from the Effects of it; he knows whether the Fruits of his Labour are his own, and whether he enjoys them in Peace and Security: And if he does not know the Principles of Government, it is for want of Thinking and Enquiry, for they lie open to common Senſe; but People are generally taught not to think of them at all, or to think wrong of them.

What

What is Government, but a Truſt committed by All, or the Moſt, to One or a Few, who are to attend upon the Affairs of All, that every one may, with the more Security, attend upon his own? A great and honourable Truſt, but too ſeldom honourably executed; thoſe who poſſeſs it having it often more at Heart to encreaſe their Power than to make it uſeful, and to be terrible rather than beneficent. It is therefore a Truſt, which ought to be bounded with many and ſtrong Reſtraints, becauſe Power renders Men wanton, inſolent to others, and fond of themſelves. Every Violation therefore of this Truſt, where ſuch Violation is conſiderable, ought to meet with proportionable Puniſhment; and the ſmalleſt Violation of it ought to meet with ſome, becauſe Indulgence to the leaſt Faults of Magiſtrates may be Cruelty to a whole People.

Honeſty, Diligence, and plain Senſe, are the only Talents neceſſary for the executing of this Truſt, and the publick Good is its only End: As to Refinements and Fineneſſes, they are often only the falſe Appearances of Wiſdom and Parts, and oftener Tricks to hide Guilt and Emptineſs; and they are generally mean and diſhoneſt; they are the Arts of Jobbers in Politicks, who playing their own Game under the publick Cover, ſubſiſt upon poor Shifts and Expedients; ſtarv'd Politicians, who live from Hand to Mouth, and from Day to Day, and following the little Views of Ambition, Avarice, and Revenge, and the like perſonal Paſſions, are aſhamed to avow them, and yet want Souls great enough to forſake them;

ſmall

ſmall wicked Stateſmen, who make a private Market of the Publick, and deceive it in order to ſell it.

Theſe are the poor Parts which great and good Governors ſcorn to play, and cannot play; their Deſigns, like their Stations, being purely publick, are open and undiſguiſed. They do not conſider their People as their Prey, nor lie in Ambuſh for their Subjects; nor dread, and treat and ſurprize them like Enemies, as all ill Magiſtrates do; who are not Governors but Jaylors and Spunges, who chain them and ſqueeze them, and yet take it very ill if they do but murmur, which is yet much leſs than a People ſo abuſed ought to do. There have been Times and Countries, when publick Miniſters and publick Enemies have been the ſame individual Men. What a melancholly Reflection is this, that the moſt terrible and miſchievous Foes to a Nation ſhould be its own Magiſtrates! And yet in every enſlaved Country, which is almoſt every Country, this is their woful Caſe.

Honeſty and Plainneſs go always together, and the Makers and Multipliers of Myſteries, in the political Way, are ſhrewdly to be ſuſpected of dark Deſigns. *Cincinnatus* was taken from the Plough to ſave and defend the *Roman* State; an Office which he executed honeſtly and ſucceſsfully, without the Grimace and Gains of a Stateſman. Nor did he afterwards continue obſtinately at the Head of Affairs, to form a Party, raiſe a Fortune, and ſettle himſelf in Power: As he came into it

with

with univerſal Conſent, he reſign'd it with univerſal Applauſe.

It ſeems Government was not in thoſe Days become a Trade, at leaſt a gainful Trade —— Honeſt *Cincinnatus* was but a Farmer: And happy had it been for the *Romans*, if, when they were enſlaved, they could have taken the Adminiſtration out of the Hands of the Emperors, and their refined Politicians, and committed them to ſuch Farmers, or any Farmers. It is certain, that many of their Imperial Governors acted more ridiculouſly than a Board of Ploughmen would have done, and more barbarouſly than a Club of Butchers could have done.

But ſome have ſaid, *It is not the Buſineſs of private Men to meddle with Government.* A bold, falſe, and diſhoneſt Saying; and whoever ſays it, either knows not what he ſays, or cares not, or ſlaviſhly ſpeaks the Senſe of others. It is a Cant now almoſt forgot in *England*, and which never prevail'd but when Liberty and the Conſtitution were attack'd, and never can prevail but upon the like Occaſion.

It is a Vexation to be obliged to anſwer Nonſenſe, and confute Abſurdities: But ſince it is and has been the great Deſign of this Paper to maintain and explain the glorious Principles of Liberty, and to expoſe the Arts of thoſe who would darken or deſtroy them; I ſhall here particularly ſhew the Wickedneſs and Stupidity of the above Saying; which is fit to come from no Mouth but that of a Tyrant, or a Slave, and can never be heard by any Man of an honeſt and free Soul, without Horror

Horror and Indignation: It is, in ſhort, a Saying, which ought to render the Man who utters it for ever incapable of Place or Credit in a free Country, as it ſhews the Malignity of his Heart, and the Baſeneſs of his Nature, and as it is the pronouncing of a Doom upon our Conſtitution. —— A Crime, or rather a Complication of Crimes, for which a laſting Infamy ought to be but Part of the Puniſhment.

But to the Falſhood of the Thing: Publick Truths ought never to be kept Secrets; and they who do it, are guilty of a Solæciſm and a Contradiction: Every Man ought to know what it concerns All to know. Now, nothing upon Earth is of a more Univerſal Nature than Government; and every private Man upon Earth has a Concern in it, becauſe in it is concerned, and nearly and immediately concerned, his Virtue, his Property, and the Security of his Perſon: And where all theſe are beſt preſerved and advanced, the Government is beſt adminiſtred; and where they are not, the Government is impotent, wicked, or unfortunate; and where the Government is ſo, the People will be ſo, there being always and every where a certain Sympathy and Analogy between the Nature of the Government and the Nature of the People. This holds true in every Inſtance. Publick Men are the Patterns of private; and the Virtues and Vices of the Governors become quickly the Virtues and Vices of the Governed.

Regis ad Exemplum totus componitur Orbis.

Nor

Nor is it Example alone that does it. Ill Governments, ſubſiſting by Vice and Rapine, are jealous of private Virtue, and Enemies to private Property. *Opes pro Crimine; & ob Virtutes certiſſimum Exitium.* They muſt be wicked and miſchievous to be what they are; nor are they ſecure while any Thing good or valuable is ſecure. Hence it is, that to drain, worry, and debauch their Subjects, are the ſteddy Maxims of their Politicks, and their favourite Arts of Reigning. In this wretched Situation, the People, to be ſafe, muſt be poor and lewd: There will be but little Induſtry, where Property is precarious; and ſmall Honeſty, where Virtue is dangerous.

Profuſeneſs or Frugality, and the like Virtues or Vices, which affect the Publick, will be practiſed in the City, if they are in the Court; and in the Country, if they are in the City. Even *Nero* (that Royal Monſter in Man's Shape) was adored by the common Herd at *Rome*, as much as he was flatter'd by the Great; and both the Little and the Great admir'd, or pretended to admire his Manners, and many to imitate them. *Tacitus* tells us, that thoſe ſort of People long lamented him, and rejoiced in the Choice of a Succeſſor that reſembled him, the profligate *Otho*.

Good Government does, on the contrary, produce great Virtue, much Happineſs, and many People. *Greece* and *Italy*, while they continued free, were each of them, for the Number of Inhabitants, like one continued City; and for Vertue, Knowledge, and great Men, they were the Standards of the World; and

and that Age and Country that could come nearest to them, has ever since been reckoned the happiest. Their Government, their Free Government, was the Root of all these Advantages, and of all this Felicity and Renown; and in these great and fortunate States, the People were the Principals in the Government; and Laws were made by their Judgment and Authority, and by their Voice and Commands were Magistrates created and condemned. The City of *Rome* could conquer the World; nor could the great *Persian* Monarch, the greatest then upon Earth, stand before the Face of one *Greek* City.

But what are *Greece* and *Italy* now? *Rome* has in it a Herd of pamper'd Monks, and a few starving Lay Inhabitants; and the *Campania* of *Rome*, the finest Spot of Earth in *Europe*, is a Desart. And for the modern *Greeks*, they are a few abject contemptible Slaves, kept under Ignorance, Chains, and Vileness, by the *Turkish* Monarch, who keeps a great Part of the Globe intensely miserable, that he may seem Great without being so.

Such is the Difference between one Government and another, and of such important Concernment is the Nature and Administration of Government to a People. And to say that private Men have nothing to do with Government, is to say that private Men have nothing to do with their own Happiness and Misery.

What is the Publick, but the collective Body of private Men, as every private Man is a Member of the Publick? And as the Whole ought to be concerned for the Preservation of every

every private Individual, it is the Duty of every Individual to be concern'd for the Whole, in which himſelf is included.

One Man, or a few Men, have often pretended the Publick, and meant themſelves, and conſulted their own perſonal Intereſt, in Inſtances eſſential to its Well-being; but the whole People, by conſulting their own Intereſt, conſult the Publick, and act for the Publick by acting for themſelves; and this is particularly the Spirit of our Conſtitution, in which the whole Nation is repreſented; and our Records afford Inſtances, where the Houſe of Commons have declin'd entering upon a Queſtion of Importance, till they had gone into the Country, and conſulted their Principals, the People: So far were they from thinking that private Men had no Right to meddle with Government. In Truth, our whole worldly Happineſs and Miſery (abating for Accidents and Diſeaſes) are owing to the Order and Miſmanagement of Government; and he who ſays, private Men have no Concern with Government, does wiſely and modeſtly tell us, that Men have no Concern in that which concerns them moſt; it is ſaying that People ought not to concern themſelves whether they be naked or clothed, fed or ſtarved, are deceived or inſtructed, and whether they are protected or deſtroyed: What Nonſenſe and Servitude in a free and wiſe Nation!

For my ſelf, who have thought pretty much of theſe Matters, I am of Opinion, that a whole Nation are like to be as much attached to themſelves, as one Man or a few Men are like to be,

be, who may by many Means be detached from the Intereſt of a Nation. It is certain that one Man, and ſeveral Men, may be bribed into an Intereſt oppoſite to that of the Publick; but it is as certain, that a whole Country can never find an Equivalent for it ſelf, and conſequently a whole Country can never be bribed. It is the eternal Intereſt of every Nation, that their Government ſhould be good; but they who direct it, do frequently reaſon a contrary Way, and find their own Account in Plunder and Oppreſſion; and while the publick Voice is pretended to be declared, by one or a few, for vile and private Ends, the Publick know nothing what is done, till they feel the terrible Effects of it.

By the Bill of Rights, and the Act of Settlement at the *Revolution*, a Right is aſſerted to the People of applying to the King and to the Parliament by Petition and Addreſs, for a Redreſs of publick Grievances and Miſmanagements, when ſuch there are, of which They are left to judge: And the Difference between free and enſlaved Countries lies principally here, that in the former, their Magiſtrates muſt conſult the Voice and Intereſt of the People; but in the latter, the private Will, Intereſt, and Pleaſure of the Governors, are the ſole End and Motives of their Adminiſtration.

Such is the Difference between *England* and *Turky*; which Difference, they who ſay that private Men have no Right to concern themſelves with Government, would abſolutely deſtroy; they would convert Magiſtrates into Baſhaws, and introduce Popery into Politicks.

The

The late Revolution ſtands upon the very oppoſite Maxim; and that any Man dares to contradict it ſince the *Revolution*, would be amazing, did we not know that there are in every Country, Hirelings who would betray it for a Sop.

I am, &c.

The End of the Firſt Volume.